University of Alberta

Model Nation: Identity and Citizenship in Canadian Women's Mass-Market Magazines, 1928–45

by

Michelle Denise Smith ©

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Abstract

"Model Nation: Identity and Citizenship in Canadian Women's Mass-Market Magazines, 1928–45" investigates the construction of national identity and the treatment of women as citizens in Canada's two most successful mass-market women's magazines, *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal*. I focus on the years 1928 to 1945 because they were a time of tremendous social flux out of which the idea of being "Canadian" emerged as white, middle-class, and heterosexual; they were also the years in which mass culture, in the form of magazines, became a staple of Canada's national culture, and *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* were two of the most widely read such magazines. I argue that national identity and the commercial demands of the literary marketplace were bound together in the contents of both magazines and, accordingly, the magazines instructed women on performing their roles as national citizens. To understand this process, I approach the magazines from three key perspectives. In Chapter One, I explore the work that the magazines' producers—editors, authors, advice columnists, and advertisers—did in capitalizing on their Canadian identity as a means of selling magazines to Canadian readers and, as a result, circulating ideas about Canada. In conjunction with this, I take up the ways in which the lives of women were situated within the national context that was set up by the magazines. In Chapter Two, I consider the readership of the magazines, and the ways in which readers were represented to themselves in images, articles, and their own letters to the editor; I also consider the ways in which reading itself was discussed as a daily practice freighted with national significance. In Chapters Three, Four, and Five, I focus on the fiction of the magazines. Fiction was central to *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* throughout the Depression and the Second World War, as it

maintained the popularity of the periodicals while providing a venue for publication for Canadian authors. Chapter Three therefore sets out the historical and literary context in which the fiction circulated, while Chapter Four analyses fiction from the Depression and Chapter Five analyses fiction from the War. My purpose throughout "Model Nation" is to understand the role that women's mass-market magazines played in constructing national identity during a pivotal era in Canada's cultural history and how women readers, in particular, were addressed in this construction.

for my mother

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Introduction

"Should Canadian Publishers Move to Buffalo, Detroit, or Minneapolis?" (66) asked a headline in the March 1936 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal*. Published by the Magazine Publisher's Association of Canada, the one-page promotional piece went on to argue:

> Canada, if she is to progress as she should, must have a distinctively Canadian periodical literature of the highest type. We must make national progress by better citizenship and greater efficiency. These depend upon better understanding and greater knowledge which, in turn, are brought about by the dissemination of scientific and technical information, and the discussion of national problems, through such periodicals.
>
> Canadian periodicals have made a great contribution to the welfare of the people of Canada. They plan to make further advances in the production of a periodical literature that stamps Canada as a nation outstanding in cultural, governmental, and industrial achievements. Standing between Canadians and the full development of a Canadian periodical literature, adequate to Canada's growth and needs, is the legislative handicap of added costs of raw materials and equipment, as compared with similar costs in foreign countries. (66)

It was the patriotic duty of Canadians, the piece concluded, to support the publishing industry of their own nation by purchasing Canadian-owned magazines and advocating for government policies that fostered the industry. The failure to do so, as prefaced by the piece, was the Americanization of the industry and the loss of a cultural body that, according to its producers, was fundamental to citizenship, the sharing of knowledge, and national progress.

I begin by citing this piece because it exemplifies the organizing principles underlying not only the style and contents of Canada's two mass-market women's magazines, *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal (Journal)*, but also the forces of the literary marketplace that shaped the publication and circulation of these magazines. Notably, the piece was published simultaneously in Canada's five mass-market magazines, which included *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, as well as the general-audience periodicals *Maclean's*, *Saturday Night*, and the *National Home Monthly* as a collective effort to promote Canadian publishing. As the piece suggests, one of the largest influences on the marketplace for Canadian periodicals was the threat of American cultural imperialism. With consumer periodicals from the United States outselling Canadian ones at a ratio of four to one in the 1920s (Sutherland 113), the anxiety over the American influence on both culture and commerce in Canada was not an imagined one. Nationalism was the central response to this threat. It served as a rationale for both the existence of a publishing industry and the urgency for readers' support of that industry; moreover, publishers and readers were situated as participants in the building of the Canadian nation through print culture. As A.B. McKillop argues in the opening of Volume Three of the *History of the Book in Canada*:

> In 1918 Canadian intellectuals, politicians, journalists, and educators who imagined their nation in words had five primary vehicles through which to share their ideas: the classroom, the podium, the article, the essay, and the book. The last three, all presented in print, retained their cachet even after the introduction of broadcast media. While radio and television were broader in their immediate reach, their communicative power was less enduring. Print provided Canadian thinkers with a means of lengthier and more complex discourse on the nature of the country, and in turn gave their audience greater opportunity to study, reflect upon, and, in some cases, respond to the argument put forward. Print's fundamental role as a medium of cultural expression and influence is writ large in the national narratives which construct Canada. Close study of such narratives reveals genealogical and antagonistic relationships among authors and texts. The most provocative and resonant titles and phrases associated with such publication—*Canadian Mosaic, Colony to Nation, Refus global, Nègres blanc d'Amérique*—have entered the country's cultural lexicon, imprinting themselves so thoroughly on the national consciousness that few citizens feel the need to trace them back to their origins. (13)

By the 1930s, the producers of popular print understood their own position and cultural entities—not to mention the marketers of commodities—as a position of mediation through which ideas and images were circulated. These ideas and images, in turn, mapped the country of Canada in the imagination of readers and generated a sense of shared heritage, common experience, and unified future. In this way, the publishers of mass-market magazines participated in the fashioning of a national narrative and the "imprinting" of a cultural lexiscon on the national consciousness. Their overt rhetoric about their own importance, which was clearly stated in the 1936 promotion piece, highlights the ways in which they situated popular print—and, in particular, nationally-oriented, mass-market magazines—as fundamental to Canadian identity. Moreover, they stressed to their readers that they were under threat because of a new set of governmental policies that undercut their commercial competitiveness, and that readers—as participants in print culture and, in turn, the construction of national consciousness—had the power to protect them from economic failure and, in doing so, protect Canada's national identity and cultural development from dissolution.

Prior to the 1936 legislation that adversely affected mass-market magazines, a series of federal policies had actually given periodical publishing a significant boost. According to Fraser Sutherland's survey of Canadian periodicals from 1789 to 1989, periodical publishers called for government intervention in taxes and tariffs affecting magazines throughout the 1920s. The results of these calls included "a 1926-27 postal amendment [that] slightly reduced postal rates for Canadian magazines" (115) and "an eighty per cent drawback on customs duties on some magazine paper stock and other printing materials" (115) in 1928. Sutherland argues that these policies were effective, noting that "within a year both the import of paper and the circulation of Canadian magazines increased" (115). Further increases were to come after September 1931, when "U.S. magazines with contents of more than twenty per cent advertising were taxed on a per-copy basis" (115), thus increasing their price and giving similar Canadian periodicals an advantage. Notably, the focus on advertising content meant that American mass-market slick magazines—and their Canadian counterparts—were the periodicals most affected by the new tax laws, as these magazines made heavy use of advertisements to subsidize the high costs of their production and distribution. According to Sutherland, the years 1931 to 1936 saw a "steep decline in the circulation of American magazines here [in Canada], to the direct benefit of the five leading Canadian magazines" (115).[1] Things would change for the worse in 1935, when a new three-year Canada-U.S. Trade Agreement that removed the 1931 tariff on American magazines was negotiated. The Agreement came into effect in January 1936, prompting the contentious question "Should Canadian publishers move to Buffalo, Detroit, or Minneapolis?" on the part of Canada's magazine publishers as they faced a threat to their economic survival.

This threat, at least as far as *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* were concerned, was never realized. Indeed, both magazines continued to increase their subscription rates. *Chatelaine*, for instance, doubled its circulation from 57 000 to 120 000 within four years of its launch in 1928. While this growth slowed in the mid-1930s, its circulation nonetheless continued to increase, reaching 150 000 by 1938 and 250 000 by 1941. The *Journal* experienced similar growth, expanding from a subscription base of 100 000 in 1928 to a base of 225 000 in 1938; it further increased to its circulation to 260 000 by the end of 1940. Such sustained growth suggests that both magazines had established a good rapport with their existing readers while successfully attracting new ones, and that both magazines were savvy competitors with their imported counterparts. The key to their success lay in their adoption of Canadian identity as their defining feature. By highlighting their Canadian contents, and the unique appeal that such contents had to Canadian readers, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* sustained themselves commercially while simultaneously generating a set of definitions for national identity during the Great Depression and the Second World War.

Introducing Chatelaine *and the* Journal

Given that issues of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* from the 1930s and 1940s are not widely available for reading these days, it is important to begin by providing a brief review of the history and contents of both magazines.[2] Launched as *The Chatelaine*[3] by the Maclean Publishing Company of Toronto in March 1928, Canada's newest periodical was designed to appeal to women across Canada. The selection of the new magazine's title was in keeping with this appeal. "*The Chatelaine*" was chosen as part of a contest that announced the forthcoming release of the magazine. The contest was publicized in some of the Maclean Publishing Company's other magazines, including its general-audience periodical *Maclean's* and its high-society magazine *Mayfair*. The contest asked readers to suggest a title for the new publication, and it offered a prize of one thousand dollars (the equivalent of $12 500 in 2007) for the winning entry. Beyond serving as a marketing ploy for the new periodical, the contest had the practical advantage of providing the publishing house with a rough idea of how many potential subscribers they might be able to cultivate. There were, as it turned out, 75 000 contest entries. Hilda Pain, a married woman running a ranch in Eburne (on Lulu Island), British Columbia, won the contest. As she explained in *Chatelaine's* inaugural issue, the inspiration for this title came when Pain:

---

[1] These five leading Canadian magazines, as noted earlier, were *Chatelaine*, the *Canadian Home Journal*, *Maclean*'s, *Saturday Night*, and the *National Home Monthly*.

> pictured in [her] mind's eye, the cover of the new women's magazine decorated with the gracious figure of a chatelaine, standing at the head of a flight of steps, inviting with outstretched hands the women of Canada to enter and enjoy the restful charm of her home. (30)

---

[2] While *Chatelaine* is a magazine title familiar to many Canadians, as it is still in print today, the magazine as a printed artefact from the 1930s and early 1940s is difficult to come by; similarly, the *Journal*, which was absorbed by *Chatelaine* in 1958, is equally difficult to find. Microfilm copies are available in a handful of university libraries, while two complete print runs for both magazines can be found at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa and at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Room, University of Toronto. This thesis is based on research conducted at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Room, to which I extend my thanks.

[3] The title of the magazine was shortened to *Chatelaine* in 1930.

Pain thus drew a parallel between the home and the magazine by setting them both up as a meeting place for Canadian women; *Chatelaine*'s editor during the Depression and the Second World War, Byrne Hope Sanders, would return to this idea time and again in her celebration of the magazine's importance to Canadian women. At the same time, the request for a name from readers, followed by the publication of the readers' inspiration for her suggestion, immediately set up the new periodical as a publication that not only addressed Canadian women, but also included them in its pages. This inclusive strategy, as I explore in Chapters One and Two, defined *Chatelaine*'s treatment of its audience throughout the Depression and the Second World War.

In terms of its editorship, *Chatelaine* was initially edited by Anne Elizabeth Wilson. She, however, returned to her initial post as the editor of *Mayfair* in 1929 when Sanders was selected to run *Chatelaine*. Sanders stayed with the periodical until January 1952. Under her leadership, *Chatelaine* focused on the lives of Canadian women, printing both biographical and autobiographical articles about Canadian women and circulating the opinions of readers by including their letters to the editors within the magazine. Feature articles also took up contemporary social issues, such as the treatment of children in orphanages or the demands of war-related work. In this way, the magazine was perpetually in dialogue with the everyday concerns of Canadian women as these concerns changed throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. Additionally, *Chatelaine* published original fiction by Canadian authors; this fiction typically represented Canadian life through its treatment of a particular setting and, at times, a contemporary issue, such as the repatriation of soldiers at the end of the Second World War. Throughout, women were addressed primarily as housekeepers—that is, as middle-class wives and mothers—whose focus in life was their family, with the nation providing the broader context for the importance of their daily activities.

Chatelaine's chief Canadian competitor was the *Canadian Home Journal*, which was founded by James Acton in 1905 and initially published as the *Home Journal* by The Home Publishing Company of Toronto. Over the next seventeen years, the magazine would change hands three times. In 1907, the *Home Journal*'s advertising manager, Bill

Rooke, took over the magazine. He was responsible for changing its name to the *Canadian Home Journal* in 1910. He was succeeded by Harold Gagnier in 1912, who also owned *Saturday Night*, a general-audience magazine that would be published alongside the *Journal* for nearly the next five decades. Both the *Journal* and *Saturday Night* were successful under Gagnier, but his unexpected death in 1922 led to the sale of both magazines to Millar McKnight, who was a former *Maclean's* editor. McKnight created the publishing house Consolidated Press Inc., which the *Journal* continued to be published as a part of until the Maclean Publishing Company purchased the *Journal* and merged it with *Chatelaine* in 1958.

In January 1930, Catherine Wilma Tait took over the editorship of the *Journal* from Jean Graham. Up until then, the *Journal* had drawn its audience primarily from Ontario, and throughout the 1920s it focused on upper-crust cultural and social events. Reviews of plays and concerts performed in Toronto were a staple of the content, and the advice on housekeeping assumed that the women addressed by the magazine had servants to assist them in running their homes. This focus changed under Tait's direction, as the *Journal* began to address a nation-wide audience of women who were presumed to be middle class but not necessarily well-to-do. She started to include articles and fiction dealing with Canadian life as it took place in different regions; she also updated the conservative images of women in the magazines to include younger, more fashionable women and to explore the possibilities of women's post-secondary education and work outside of the home. Tait was not alone in her refashioning of a magazine at Consolidated Press, as B.K. Sandwell at *Saturday Night* was similarly engaged in converting *Saturday Night* "from a Toronto sheet to a national magazine" during the 1930s (Sutherland 173). The development of the *Journal* as a nationally-focused magazine that Tait effected, a development that occurred alongside the creation of *Chatelaine*, marked the beginning of a mass-market magazine culture in Canada in which the Canadian populace was constructed as a nation-wide audience with a common identity.

The restructuring of two existing Canadian magazines, and the emergence of a new one, at the end of the 1920s begs the question: why then? There are several overlapping explanations. As noted earlier, the federal government lowered postal rates for periodicals in the late 1920s, assisting publishers in making full use of the postal system to distribute magazines to the front doors of subscribers. Simultaneously, the tax laws of the early 1930s helped mass-market magazines reach a wider audience, one they were able to sustain despite the repeal of those laws later in the decade. At the same time, the earliest decades of the twentieth century saw the expansion of immigration to the prairie provinces, creating a greater need for reading material in western Canada in a way that helped push publishers towards distribution that spanned the east coast to the west coast. As I discuss in Chapter Two, per capita subscription rates in Alberta were among the highest in the country, suggesting that the magazines were a popular purveyor of contemporary culture that was readily and cheaply available in some areas that might otherwise be lacking in printed materials. Indeed, as a group of anonymous book club readers observed in 1934, bookstores and libraries were neither plentiful nor well-stocked in some regions, a fact that made the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* important to the reading lives of many Canadians.

A third factor to contribute to the rise of mass-market magazine publishing in Canada was the growth of industrialization and urbanization throughout the 1920s. 1921 was the first year in Canadian history in which more than half of Canada's population lived in the cities rather than rural areas. The increase in industry in turn created a class of professionals and managers who typically lived in urban areas and who possessed the disposable income and leisure time for reading periodical literature. It was this audience that advertisers sought out. Advertisers were the key source of revenue for magazines like *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, and they accordingly addressed themselves to a middle-class audience likely to buy the consumer goods for sale on their pages. In short, Canada was experiencing a set of similar social and economic changes to those of the United States as they had occurred in that country at the turn of the twentieth century. These changes, Richard Ohmann argues, were the underlying causes for the formation of mass culture, and they consisted of:

> big capital, factories, machines, products, and profits [...] the labors of middlemen to move products about and win over consumers; further downstream are the projects of writers and editors, then those of the new middle class that bought magazines and the commodities advertised there; and at the end of the causal flow come representations, meanings, ideology. (340)

Admen and magazines, Ohmann argues, stepped in to sustain the production, circulation, and consumption of goods and, as part of this process, the images and texts presented in mass market magazines shaped the middle-class consciousness of their American readers. As the Canadian periodical industry oriented itself towards a mass audience engaged in commodity consumption, they drew on the Canadian identity of their publications to distinguish themselves from their American counterparts. The result was the melding of consumer culture with national identity in a bid to create both a national audience and a national consciousness—or, as the promotional piece from 1936 put it, the periodical producers aimed "to make further advances in the production of a periodical literature that stamp[ed] Canada as a nation outstanding in cultural, governmental and industrial achievements" (66).

The appearance of *Chatelaine* in the late 1920s, and the re-design of the *Journal* at roughly the same time may also have been influenced by recent political changes to Canada's status within the British Empire, as well as by changes to the status of women in Canada. Specifically, The Statute of Westminster, which granted Canada legislative autonomy from Britain, came into effect on 11 December 1931. It declared that the Commonwealth was a free association of autonomous dominions and that the British Parliament could not legislate for the dominions except at their request and subject to their assent. The Statute also put the dominion legislatures on an equal footing with the legislature of the United Kingdom. Admittedly, neither *Chatelaine* nor the *Journal* remarked on the Statute of Westminster, but the change in Canada's relationship to

Britain nonetheless indicates a greater need for the formation of a Canadian identity at the start of the 1930s.

The results of the "Persons' Case" in 1929, in contrast, merited comment in *Chatelaine*. The Case began in 1928, when Emily Murphy questioned whether or not it was possible for women to be appointed to the Senate. The British North America Act denied women status as persons, and they were therefore ineligible to hold a position within the Senate. On 14 March 1928, the Supreme Court of Canada chose to uphold the British North America Act's definition of women. In response, Murphy and the other four women who made up the "famous five" (Henrietta Muir Edwards, Louise McKinney, Irene Parlby, and Nellie McClung) appealed the decision of the Supreme Court by taking their case to the Judicial Committee of England's Privy Council, the highest court of appeal in Canada at the time. On 18 October 1929, the Committee determined that the word "persons" included both men and women. So it was that in December 1929, Byrne Hope Sanders began her editorial with the words:

> To the Chatelaines of Canada: Applause for their new status as persons—and a Merry Christmas!
>
> Although we are in the midst of a Christmas issue, it is only fit and proper that this typewriter tapper should control her yuletide enthusiasms for a few paragraphs, to join in the general rejoicings that women are, at last, indisputably persons.
>
> As a magazine for Canadian women, The Chatelaine is intensely interested in this latest development, since it marks the removal of the final barrier between woman and her freedom. (16)

She went on to summarize the co-operation of Murphy, Edwards, McKinney, Parlby, and McClung and reflect on the urgency of women continuing to work towards greater involvement in Canada's political future and the expansion of their right to equality in other fields. Sanders' comments, as I explore throughout "Model Nation," were indicative of *Chatelaine*'s construction of women as Canadian citizens. Women were never simply housekeepers and consumers as far as *Chatelaine* or the *Journal* were concerned; they were also national citizens with a set of national responsibilities and the agency to effect change in their lives and in their country. For this reason, it is crucial to understand the ways in which Canada itself was imagined in the magazines.

While Chapter One is devoted to an overview of the style and contents of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, and to understanding the uses to which they put Canadian identity, it is worthwhile reviewing the key traits of the magazines here. As noted earlier, their status as Canadian made them unique from their American competition, thus helping them attract readers and so sustain themselves financially. Doing so was necessary because the magazines offered similar fare to American imports like the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Cosmopolitan*. In their publication of romance fiction, their friendly editorial tone, their advertisements, and their beauty, fashion, and household advice columns, Canadian women's mass-market magazines covered much the same ground as these American ones. In marketing themselves as Canadian periodicals, the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* not only created a national body of readers, but also engaged in the representation of Canadian readers to themselves. These representations took the form of feature articles on different regions, profiles of important Canadian women (such as Emily Murphy or L.M. Montgomery), and fiction by Canadian authors who typically penned romances set in Canadian locations. Throughout the various contents, editors and authors addressed their audience as a white, middle-class, female one that was in need of inspiration, practical advice, and current information on Canadian culture and events. The success of the magazines in trading on their Canadian content was evident far into the 1950s, as Valerie Korinek cites the 1958 Dichter Study's[4] observation about

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[4] As Valerie Korinek explains, "In 1958 the Chatelaine advertising department commissioned the Motivational Research Institute in New York to evaluate the magazine. Ernest Dichter, Ph.D., the American psychologist favoured by corporate America for his "motivational research fad, which promised to explain the ins and outs of consumer decision prepared the report" (74) in order to learn why the magazine appealed to subscribers—what it was doing well--and how it could be altered in order to attract new subscribers.

Chatelaine that "only in its implicit nationalism did the periodical satisfy its readers" (78). Taken from a different decade, the observation nonetheless indicates that national identity was the most important aspect of the magazine to its readers.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the success of using Canadian identity to market the magazines—and the importance of this content to readers that such success implied—was also evident in ever-growing circulation figures. While both magazines had nearly identical circulation figures throughout the 1930s and early 1940s, Noel F. Barbour, in his reflections on being an adman for the magazines during this period, points out that there was only a sixteen per cent overlap on their subscription lists (143). The magazines appealed to different readerships, yet the differences between the two magazines were not overly pronounced. The differences that did exist lay in their respective histories and their attitude towards religion.

The *Journal* was more overtly Christian than *Chatelaine*. While *Chatelaine* occasionally referred to women's involvement in church organizations or spoke of the Christmas season on the assumption that all readers shared in this ostensibly religious holiday, these references were typically brief and non-specific. The *Journal*, as I discuss in Chapter One, published editorials and the occasional article that discussed Christian teachings as a basis for social interaction and decision-making among Canadians. No particular denomination was supported, but the treatment of the Bible as a source of authority when it came to questions over how best to raise and educate children or manage a marriage gave the *Journal* a slightly preachy quality that differed from *Chatelaine*'s chatty, friendly, and almost entirely secular tone. The logical result of this difference is that *Journal* subscribers were more likely to be devoutly religious than those of *Chatelaine*.

In terms of their respective histories, the *Journal* had a well-established audience before the creation of *Chatelaine*, and this audience was centred on Ontario. While information on the geographic distribution of the *Journal*'s subscribers is not available, the focus on cultural events in Toronto in its early years suggests that its readership was drawn largely from Toronto and the surrounding areas. While the *Journal* altered under

Tait's direction in the 1930s, its readership may well have remained largely grounded in Ontario, whereas *Chatelaine* launched itself as a periodical intended for women from all across Canada, and an advertisement showing the geographic distribution of *Chatelaine* from 1928 (discussed in Chapter Three) supports this idea. This advertisement indicates that *Chatelaine* was read by between one and two per cent of Canadians in each of the provinces. The *Journal*, then, appears to have been originally intended for a more localized audience than its younger competitor, and it may well have held on to vestiges of this as it expanded. These two differences aside, the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* were remarkably similar. While the nation was clearly one of the things they had in common, their treatment of femininity also overlapped.

Reading Women's Magazines

Women readers and gender construction have been the subject of many studies of women's magazines, including Cynthia White's *Women's Magazines 1693-1968* (a survey that ranges from the first women's periodicals to post-war periodicals in Britain), Kathryn Shevelow's *Women and Print Culture: The Construction of Femininity in the Early Periodical* (which explores the empowerment of, and restrictions on, women as they participated in the print culture of Britain through periodicals such as John Dunton's *Atheneum Mercury* and Addison and Steele's *Tatler*), and Patricia Okker's *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Editors* (a study of Sarah Josepha Hale's role in editing the nineteenth-century American women's periodical *Godey's Lady's Book*). In keeping with these studies, research on twentieth-century women's periodicals also focuses on femininity. Notably, this research often deals with the connection between femininity and commodity consumption and the ways in which mass-market magazines construct women as consumers.

Ellen Gruber Garvey, in her work on American mass-market magazines such as the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Cosmopolitan* from 1880-1910, argues that mass-magazines were the printed version of department stores in that both were designated as feminine spaces that "exalted consumerist choice making" (15). As she goes on to explain:

> Both magazines and department stores were considered acceptable spaces in which middle-class women could wander; unlike a city street, the department store was an enclosed, monitored space. A visit there would not excite comment, and once inside the shopper was allowed seemingly limitless choices. The magazine, too, was monitored space, from which questionable, risqué, or politically incendiary material was excluded; within it the reader could wander seemingly at will, choosing among articles, stories, poems, and ads. (15)

In this way, consumerism and the gender expectations applied to women were bound together through mass culture at the turn of the twentieth century. Pursuing a similar argument, Helen Damon-Moore compares two of the most successful mass-market periodicals in the United States, the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post,* at the turn of the twentieth century. Both periodicals were published by Cyrus Curtis, with the *Post* addressing men and the *Journal* addressing women. Damon-Moore argues that the two magazines, taken together, were "prototypes that aided in the creation, development, and sustaining of the commercializing of gender and the gendering of commerce" (3). This meant that men "continued to bear the burden of providing for their families but they retained all of the power and privilege pertaining to this role" (12) in the treatment that masculinity received in the *Post*; in contrast, women were constructed as consumers and caregivers, and commodities were marketed as aids to care-giving, in the *Journal*. As Damon-Moore observes, shopping was celebrated by the *Journal* as a "small measure of autonomy" for women even as it built on "tasks previously designated as womanly" (11). Similarly, Jennifer Scanlon remarks in her book *Inarticulate Longings: the* Ladies' Home Journal, *Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* that the *Ladies' Home Journal* "helped naturalize women's link to the marketplace through consumption" (13).

According to Ellen McCracken, this apparently natural link holds true later in the twentieth century. In her study of the American mass-market periodicals of the early 1980s, *Decoding Women's Magazines*, she argues that "the key role of women as the primary purchasers of goods and services in the consumer society is the material explanation for the continued existence of this genre of mass culture" and that "magazines foster a reifying image of woman as shopper in order to attract advertisers" (4). Janice Winship is more equivocal, pointing out in her study of British women's magazines of the late 1970s and early 1980s, *Inside Women's Magazines*, that advertising constructs women as consumers, whereas the articles in the magazines resist this construction in their discussions of women's lives and concerns (13-14). In an effort to understand if and how readers respond to the ties and tensions between commodity consumption and femininity, Dawn Currie conducted a sociological study in the 1990s that looked at how young women engaged in reading the American "teenzines" *Young & Modern*, *Seventeen*, and *Sassy*. Her purpose was to understand "young women's development of gendered identities, and the place of fashion and beauty magazines in this process" (3). She explores the ways in which readers choose to read magazines as part of educating themselves on gendered behaviour, yet they also compare advertisements and articles to their lived experiences and "reject as invalid" (117) articles that do not accurately reflect those experiences. That said, Currie concludes that "the majority of young readers accept the preferred meanings of the text" (283); that is, they accept the majority of representations of women and girls that the magazines publish as both normative and natural.

Most recently, Valerie Korinek's analysis of *Chatelaine* in the 1950s and 1960s examines the role of *Chatelaine* in promoting second-wave feminism. Like Winship, Korinek points to a gap between the construction of women as consumers and the feminist discussions that took place in the magazine's non-advertising content (69-70). Her work, which deals primarily with the reception of *Chatelaine* as it circulated feminist ideology, shows that the magazine's non-advertising content in fact challenged the prescribed gender roles that magazines like the *Ladies' Home Journal* upheld. Philippa Brush's dissertation "This Feminine Invasion: Women and the Workplace in Canadian Magazines, 1900-1930" also takes up the status of women in Canada. She deals with the treatment of women in the white-collar workplace as the topic was discussed in *Maclean's*, *Saturday Night,* the earliest issues of *Chatelaine*, and a Canadian magazine called *The Business Woman*. *The Business Woman* was founded in 1926 by the Canadian Business and Professional Women's Club of Toronto, and it was designed to address the interests of women in the white-collar workforce. In her comparison of these two Canadian women's magazines, Brush points out that *Chatelaine* "focused almost exclusively on women's domestic lives and gave very little space to discussions of women's business and professional careers" (183), and further argues that "in founding *Chatelaine* the Maclean Publishing Company attempted to compartmentalize women's concerns and sought to capitalize on what was seen as a potentially lucrative market of women readers" (183). Capitalizing on this market entailed maintaining the status quo in regard to women's concerns. In contrast, *The Business Woman* treated women in the workplace "as a serious and permanent figure of the business world and the professions" (226) and did not take up the more traditional concerns of marriage on its pages, focusing instead on women's professional interests. These two magazines, then, reveal different facets of women's status in Canada and the print-based distinctions that emerged from competing views on women's agency and involvement in the workforce. Notably, *Roughing It in the Suburbs* and "This Feminine Invasion" are the first studies to look closely at Canadian, rather than British or American, women's magazines and the construction of gender. The differences between the conclusions that Korinek and Brush draw about women and Canadian magazines and the conclusions drawn about women and American or British magazines remind us that the periodicals from the United States and Britain are not representative of all women's magazines and should not be taken as such. Further to this, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, grounded as they were in Canadian identity, make it both possible and important to develop a new understanding of both women's mass-market magazines and the relationship between popular print and nationhood.

As such, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* offer insight into the popular perceptions of women's role within the nation. This role offered a different identity from that of the housekeeper and consumer without challenging these roles; rather, citizenship was made to fit together with these prescribed norms. Canada itself became a broad backdrop through which the magazines discussed the significance of women's everyday activities; at the same time, the periodicals represented readers to themselves as part of a nation-wide community and asked them to contribute to their nation through the sharing of ideas, knowledge, and cultural activities. In doing all of these things, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* also asked readers to purchase and read Canadian periodicals, thereby making reading itself a practice of national significance that is worth understanding both in terms of its importance to women's lives and to the life of the nation.

Print Culture and the Nation

According to Benedict Anderson's work in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, the collective imagining of national selfhood is a process that is facilitated primarily through "print-capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways" (36). He argues that the reading of novels and newspapers encourages a sense of shared experience and communal life with the other citizens within the nation. Novels, he suggests, prompt individual readers to follow "a solitary hero through a sociological landscape of a fixity that fuses the world inside the novel with the world outside" (30). This fusion results in a "national imagination" of both the nation and the individual's place it. Newspapers, for their part, create a sense of "mass simultaneity" (35) that assures readers that their everyday experiences are a part of a larger national pattern. As Anderson argues, each citizen, by "observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed [in] his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbour[hood], is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life" (35-36). Anderson leaves mass-market magazines out of his discussion of print culture and its effect on nationalism, yet magazines like *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal* combine the elements of both the novel and the newspaper. In addition to this, these magazines were able to combine practical advice on how to live in Canada with articles about Canada and fiction that imagined Canada, thus creating a potent combination of representations of the daily practices of life in the nation that were intertwined with imaginative works. The magazines, then, were able to encourage a feeling of national unity among readers, thus making them a powerful force in the generation of an imagined community.

While Anderson locates the construction of the nation in the realm of print culture, the question of which elements of print culture are deemed to be of national importance privileges some imaginings over others. The governmental laws affecting periodical publication, which alternated between favouring and undermining the efforts of the Maclean Publishing Company and Consolidated Press, indicate that the government was at best ambivalent about the publication of mass-market magazines in Canada. In contrast, the government intervention into the arts that took place after the Second World War tied together nationalism and a specific type of cultural production: Euro-centric high modernism. This transition marked a divorce between mass culture and nation-building in the second half of the century that has prevented the inclusion of periodicals like *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* from the study of Canadian literary history. As Paul Litt argues in his book on the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences (popularly known as the Massey Commission), critics and cultural groups equated Canadian culture with high culture. Their success in advocating a correlation between national culture and elite culture was evident many of the recommendations made by Massey Commission in 1951. According to Litt, after a two-year nation-wide inquiry into cultural production, the Commission's recommendations were formulated on the premise that

> mass culture was an organized and well-financed threat [...] that was threatening Canada from the south. This point was made time and time again in the Commission's hearings. When, as the Canadian Author's Association noted, 'the low-grade literature read in Canada is almost wholly imported,' it was easy to associate high standards with Canadianism. (106)

Such an assertion does not simply deny the presence of Canadian-produced mass culture in the era immediately preceding the Massey Commission, it also defines that culture as inherently un-Canadian.

Picking up on the question of "high" art and Canadian nationalism, Jody Berland reviews the post-Second World War efforts of various cultural lobby groups to secure funding for the arts. She argues that

> the Massey Commission legitimated but did not invent the association between high culture and national defence. The wartime coalition of artists' organizations, later titled the Canadian Conference for the Arts (still active today as a national lobby), advanced a strategical connection between a cultural policy focused on the fine arts, and national defence. Their goal was to elevate art's status as professional work, and to win government financial support for art production, on the basis of culture's potential contribution to national morale. (21)

In contrast to the promotion of high art as a source of fortification for Canadian national identity and morale, mass culture was vilified in the post-war period of reconstruction. According to L.B. Kuffert's research on the response of Canada's intellectual class to mass culture from 1939-1967:

> critics insisted that a mass public equipped for little else but consuming household goods and the latest dances would harm chances for realizing a Canadian culture that was to be reconstructed on the foundation of the responsible individual. (70)

The solution to the potential passivity of the masses, according to these critics, was to educate and inspire them by providing them with more elevated forms of art and literature than the culture industries offered (Kuffert 70-71). Art became a means of individual and national self-improvement; mass culture was eschewed as homogenizing and anti-national.

In a similar vein, Sarah Corse argues that contemporary mass literature is divorced from questions of nationhood. In a comparison of the ways in which the canons of American and Canadian literature were respectively constructed, she argues that canonical texts are selected as the nation comes into being, and that

> contemporary high-culture literature continues to address issues of national experience and identity, but it does so by responding to an established, internal literary tradition rather than by reacting against an external other. […] Popular

> culture is not used to construct or distinguish the nation. Because popular-culture literature is produced and distributed within the mass-market economy, and because it serves no compelling purpose for the nation-state, it is the profit demands of business and the broadest popular taste which primarily influence popular-culture texts. (168)

While it is true that profit—or at least economic survival in the commercial marketplace—were crucial to *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, it is not true that the instances of mass culture that these two magazines represent do not, or cannot, say something significant about the nation. Moreover, the significance for this project is suggested by the recent discussion of *Chatelaine* in the *History of the Book in Canada Volume Three, 1918 - 1980*, which identifies Chatelaine as "Canada's most prominent women's periodical—and perhaps all-time magazine success story" (Des Rivières, Gerson, and Saint-Jacques 249). The success and popularity, in this instance, can tell us much about not only the print culture history of one of Canada's key serial publications, but also the ideals, dreams, and aspirations Canadian readers (and magazine purchasers) during the 1930s and 1940s. As the literature in this study shows, mass culture does participate in circulating ideas about the nation. Moreover, the ideas in *Châtelaine* and the *Journal* were addressed to a body of readers defined primarily as "Canadian," thus drawing together readers as a community in a way that insisted on the consciousness of the reader's relationship to that national community. Popular fiction also draws its inspiration from contemporary events and makes use of settings familiar to a given audience. Fiction from the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* during the Depression and the Second World War, for example, took up the economic and social effects of both national crises. As a result, the mass literature written for the magazines perpetually explores the question of Canadian identity as it was negotiated during the 1930s and early 1940s.

Project Overview

"Model Nation" is broken into five chapters. The first chapter, "Producing Magazines, Producing Canada," considers the ways in which the producers of the magazines—that is, the editors, authors, journalists, advice columnists, and advertisers—

produced images of, and ideas about, Canada. My purpose in Chapter One is to understand the different ways in which the question of national identity was approached through different elements of the magazines, as well as the ways in which these elements relate to one another. Both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* were organized around the question of Canadian identity, and I argue that the magazines united and defined the nation in and through print. In doing so, they constructed women as national subjects whose daily lives contributed to quality of life in Canada both within the home and across the country, while the magazines themselves became a national medium for communication. The result is that the magazines' producers invented magazines that were cultural entities fully engaged in defining Canadian identity.

In Chapter Two, I take up the readership and reception of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*. I begin by considering the circulation figures and discussions of subscriptions as they took place on the pages of both magazines. These discussions were never simple accounts of numbers; rather, they were marketing strategies that interpellated readers as patriotic citizens. With this in mind, I analyse the magazines' physical traits and the ways in which these traits influence the process of reading. I then review the construction of women in the texts and images in the magazines with a specific focus on the ways in which this construction was related to national identity. Last, I turn to the reception of *Chatelaine*, and the treatment of reading as a social practice, as it was articulated by readers themselves. To do this, I begin by analysing a series of letters from readers that appeared in *Chatelaine* in the year 1934. These letters provide us with insight into the geographical, economical, and social elements of readers' lives; moreover, they express, in the readers' own words, their reception of *Chatelaine*. Next, I take up the practice of reading as it was articulated by a group of eight women who formed a book club in the autumn and winter of 1933-1934. The club was formed as a result of *Chatelaine*'s 1933 article advocating the pleasures of book club reading, and the anonymous, collectively-written article that the club wrote situates *Chatelaine* within the context of readers' social lives. My purpose throughout Chapter Two is to formulate an understanding of the ways in which readers themselves interpreted *Chatelaine* and the

Journal, as well as the ways in which the magazines' producers presented their publications as elemental to a national culture that was integrated into the intellectual and social lives of women across Canada.

In Chapter Three, I discuss the presentation of fiction in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* throughout the Depression and the Second World War. This fiction was positioned by the editors of both magazines as quintessentially Canadian and therefore of importance to readers. I begin by reviewing the editorial promotion of magazine fiction as uniquely Canadian because it was written by Canadian citizens, set in Canadian locations, and focused, often, on contemporary Canadian social problems. This editorial championing of literature and its relationship to the nation created a framework of Canadian identity through which the fiction could be—and was intended to be—read. Despite the emphasis on Canadian identity, the fiction in the magazines failed to attract the positive attention of either the magazines' contemporary critics or current ones. I therefore take up the place of women's mass-market magazines in our understanding of Canadian print culture, paying particular attention to the literary hierarchy, in order to explore the exclusion of mass-market magazine fiction from the study of Canada's national literature. Last, I discuss the relationship between the romance genre and the treatment of Canadian life as it played out in the fiction, and I argue that the emphasis on idyllic endings that are elemental to romance narratives ultimately lead to the portrayal of Canada as a model nation.

In Chapter Four, I explore two works of fiction that were granted particular significance by the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Chatelaine* during the Depression. Clara G. Turner's short story, "Family Style," was published in the June 1934 issue of *Chatelaine*, and it attracted much attention from readers. As a result, the story offers us insight into its reception. The story itself, which narrated the everyday lives of the Cochran household as it prepared for a wedding, turned inward to consider family life in an uplifting, cheerful manner that may well have soothed some of the anxieties and deprivations of the Depression. The second story, Leslie Gordon Barnard's "The Winter Road," took up these anxieties as it mapped the social structure of Montreal society and explored the tensions between capitalist and socialist ideologies as they influenced the lives of the different characters. Barnard's story resolves its various conflicts harmoniously, suggesting as it did so a set of principles that could lead to a more ideal Canadian society. In this sense, both "The Winter Road" and "Family Style" were romances that pursued their respective visions of a model nation that was one and the same with Canada.

In Chapter Five, I deal with fiction of the Second World War. This fiction can be broken into two categories: fiction of the early to mid-war years and fiction of the final war years. The stories from 1939 to 1943 dealt most often with the enlistment of Canadian men and their departure overseas. Matt Armstrong's "Soldier" was a typical example, as it traced one man's decision to enlist. In doing so, the story made women the symbol of the nation's values, and men the patriotic defenders of both women and the nation. This nation, as Jenethea York's story "Lady Going West" suggests, was a powerful force poised for modern prosperity when the War was won. As such, Canada was well-worth defending, and its successful defence entailed an idyllic future for the nation's citizens. In the years 1944 to 1945, the fiction turned to considerations of the post-war status of women. Elsie Fry Laurence's "Going Home," for example, explored the rift between traditional gender expectations and the increased independence and self-reliance in women that the War had demanded; in contrast, Anne Allison's "Airmail to Heaven" staunchly upheld traditional gender expectations for both men and women. As with the fiction from the earlier years of the War, Canada's future emerged in both stories as prosperous and secure; moreover, the stability and strength of the nation was grounded solidly in strictly divided roles for men and women.

My overall aims in writing "Model Nation" are threefold. First, I seek to bring Canadian women's mass-market magazines into discussions of Canada's literary history and print culture. In order to achieve this end, I begin by examining the production and reception of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* in the first two chapters and then go on to explore the ways in which fiction dealt with the question of nationhood. Second, my work formulates an understanding of the nature of Canadian identity as it was constructed in the magazines. This identity involved representing Canadians to themselves as white, urban, middle-class, English-speaking, and heterosexual. At the same time, the magazines set themselves a dual task of assisting their readers in managing their homes and families on one hand, and uplifting them emotionally through inspiring fiction and articles. Such a two-fold process gave itself over to an idealization of the Canadian nation. In turn, this idealization was bound together with the possibilities for women's contributions to the nation. The relationships among print, women, and the nation bring me to my third purpose, which is to generate an understanding of the ways in which the magazines treated the place of women within the nation. As noted earlier, the construction of women as citizens did not necessarily resist the assumption that women in Canada were primarily wives and mothers, not to mention consumers, but it did provide an alternate way of making sense of one's lived experiences. That is, the magazines' process of situating women's lives within the context of nation-building imbued the representations of those lives with nationalistic purpose. With these things in mind, I now turn to the question of how the producers of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* defined Canada in and through the pages of their magazines.

Chapter One

Producing Magazines, Producing Canada

The art-dealer had liked his studies of Acadian life, had written: "You have something here, my friend, that is really worthwhile. It has always puzzled me why our artists go around painting snow and barns and fishing boats when the real history of our country is written in the faces of the people.

--Louis Arthur Cunningham, "Light Was Her Laughter"

You are a great help to us when you send us recipes that are particularly characteristic of your own community or your own province. We get a lot of ideas from them—ideas of what people like in different parts of this broad country, and of the kind of products they find available. This aids us in the planning of our whole cookery section. And so we offer you our warm thanks.

--Katherine Caldwell Bayley, "We Test Your Recipes"

There is no land on earth that can give us fairer views or happier days. North, south, east, and west, the prospect is the same, with the bluest of lakes, the brightest of streams, and mountains that kiss the clouds. We certainly do not need to cross our own boundaries, in order to find all that human nature demands.

--Jean Graham, "See Canada First!"

Between the years 1928 and 1945, *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal* offered an ongoing, varied, and complex series of discussions about, and representations of, Canadian identity. These contents effectively "produced" Canada as the producers of the magazines—that is, the editors, authors, journalists, advice columnists, and advertisers—created each issue. Despite the insight that this wealth of material offers on the construction of national identity, very little research has been done on these periodicals.[5] The work of poring over them and subsequently articulating the ideas that they circulated about Canada has therefore been immense and sometimes daunting. This project is, accordingly, intended to be both an overview of the ways in which the magazines constructed Canadian identity and a foundation for future scholarship. "Producing Magazines, Producing Canada" serves as a starting point for that overview.

The quantity of magazines available for research has required that some strict parameters be set on the amount of material under review in this chapter. I have therefore chosen to focus on two specific issues of *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal*: the June 1932 issue of *Chatelaine* and the August 1940 issue of the *Journal*. I have selected these two issues in an effort to balance what is unique and what is representative. The June 1932 issue, for instance, was unique in its launch of a serial by the hugely popular author, Mazo de la Roche. As such, it makes it possible to investigate the questions of authorship, prestige, and literary acclaim. The August 1940 issue of the

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[5] Fraser Sutherland includes them in his survey of Canadian magazine history *The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789-1989; Chatelaine* self-published a celebration its own history, *A Woman's Place: Seventy Years in the Lives of Canadian Women,* in 1997; and Valerie Korinek presents a rigorous consideration of *Chatelaine*'s role in promoting second-wave feminism among Canadian readers in *Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading* Chatelaine *Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties*. Of the work that has been done, there is little discussion of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*'s place in Canada's literary culture during the Depression and the Second World War, nor is there much discussion of the ways in which the nationalist focus of the magazines structured the contents of both magazines.

Journal, in contrast, was selected precisely because there is nothing unique about it. As such, it serves as a representative copy of the magazine. Apart from the discussion of authorship and literary success, the same can be said of the June 1932 issue of *Chatelaine*. These issues, then, convey both of the magazines' approach to national identity during the Depression and the Second World War. In concentrating closely on these two issues, my purpose has been to formulate a detailed reading of the different elements of the magazines and the ways in which they related to one another. That said, I also draw from other issues of the magazines as a means of placing a specific and nuanced reading within the context of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*'s overall style and contents and during the Depression and the Second World War.

I have divided the following chapter into six sections. Each section explores the two-fold process through which the magazines were produced by various contributors who, in turn, produced Canadian identity through the magazines' text and images. The first section, "Canadian Identity and Editorial Appeal" considers the ways in which Byrne Hope Sanders, editor of *Chatelaine,* and Catherine Wilma Tait, editor of the *Journal*, addressed readers as Canadian citizens. From here, I move on to "Authorship, Nationality, and Gender," which takes up the ways in which authorship in the magazines was underwritten by the expectation that authors were Canadian citizens and, in turn, that the fiction they wrote reflected some aspect of life in Canada. The third section looks at the fiction published in the magazines from three different angles: first, a brief overview of the important role that the magazines played in circulating fiction by Canadian authors to a nation-wide audience of readers; second, a discussion of the themes of immigration and self-improvement that were central to the fiction; and, third, a discussion of the ways in which family life and domestic harmony were presented as the foundation of national life. The fourth section, " 'She has, too, the nation': Canadian Women and Feature Articles" takes up the journalistic articles published in the magazines and considers the ways in which these articles both showed women across the nation to themselves and overtly discussed the relationship between women and the nation. The fifth section, "Advice Columns: How to be a Good Canadian," explores the ways in which the cookery, childcare, and beauty and fashion sections of the magazines instructed women on not only how to perform their prescribed gender roles as wives and mothers, but also why these roles were important to national life. The sixth and final section, "Canadiana and Advertising" considers the relationship between consumerism and advertising on one hand, and the idealization of Canada through advertising on the other.

As this synopsis suggests, both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* were organized around the question of Canadian identity in a multi-faceted yet coherent manner. The magazines were designed to unite and define the nation in and through print, and to situate women as citizens whose daily lives contributed to quality of life in Canada both within the home and across the country. The magazines, for their part, positioned themselves as a national medium for communication and a source of advice, information, and inspiration for women, thereby making them into cultural objects that were fully engaged with the definition of Canadian identity and the construction of nationhood.

Canadian Identity and Editorial Appeal

Editors Byrne Hope Sanders at *Chatelaine* and Catherine Wilma Tait at the *Canadian Home Journal* focused the contents of their respective periodicals on discussion of Canadian nationhood and the role of women within the nation. Byrne Hope Sanders published editorials each month that reflected on *Chatelaine*'s purpose and its place within the Canadian nation. As I explore in the following section, Sanders argued that *Chatelaine* was both in the service of Canadian women and a representation of Canadian women. In its service to women, *Chatelaine* offered readers contemporary Canadian literature, news and opinions, and advice on everyday concerns; as a representation of women, *Chatelaine* published articles on the historical contributions of female immigrants—usually described as pioneers—to Canada alongside articles on the lives of both ordinary and extraordinary contemporary Canadian women. At the same time, Sanders frequently highlighted *Chatelaine*'s role as a publisher of new works by Canadian authors, thereby stressing the magazine's role in bolstering Canadian arts and letters while offering readers an enjoyable source of entertainment. The *Journal*, too, reflected on the role of women in constructing the Canadian nation and positioned itself as an important purveyor of contemporary Canadian fiction. While Tait was not as vocal about her vision for the *Journal* as Sanders, the fiction published in the *Journal* was nearly always by Canadian authors, and the editorials that fiction editor Margaret Lawrence wrote for the magazine, an example of which I discuss later in this section, often took up the place of women in the nation. Importantly, Sanders and Tait were both enormously successful editors, with the ongoing growth of subscriptions for both of their magazines attesting to their ability to create periodicals that met with sustained nation-wide approval. Their use of Canadian content in achieving this approval, in turn, made Canadian identity elemental to their editorial appeal to readers. Understanding the work of Sanders and Tait, then, helps us understand the ways in which mass-market magazines participate in nation-building and the construction of Canadian identity as it was undertaken in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*.

Byrne Hope Sanders was born in 1902 in South Africa. She moved to Ontario with her family at the age of eleven, attended the Toronto private girls' school, St. Mildred's College, and began her career in print by contributing stories to a feature of *The Globe* (*The Globe and Mail* after 1936) called "The Average Woman and the Occasional Man." In the 1920s, she worked in the advertising department of the T. Eaton Co. Ltd., then went on to edit the magazine *The Business Woman* from 1926-29 before taking over *Chatelaine* from Anne Elizabeth Wilson. Wilson, for her part, had been dividing her time between editing the Maclean Publishing Company's high-end society magazine *Mayfair* and overseeing the launch of *Chatelaine*. As the new periodical gained in popularity, Sanders was appointed as a full-time, permanent editor, while Wilson amicably departed. Sanders would remain with *Chatelaine* from 1929 to 1951, serving as the driving force behind the magazines' direction as well as its persona in print.

At the beginning of her editorship, Sanders sought to make the editorial transition from Wilson to herself as seamless as possible by maintaining the Canadian-centric focus that *Chatelaine* had adopted at its inception. During her first year as editor, for example, she stated that she wished to make the periodical a "strong connecting link across the Dominion [that expressed] the voice of Canadian womanhood" (Feb. 1930 16) while shaping the "development of a nation" (Sept. 1930 16). She undertook this agenda by continuing some of the work that Wilson had begun. For instance, she continued to run a series of articles called "The Settling of Canada: Landmarks in Canadian History" that Wilson had launched in December 1928. Written by M.O. Hammond, who had written two historical books (*Confederation and Its Leaders* (1917) and *Canadian Footprints* (1926)), the series combined photographs of landmarks with explanations regarding their importance to Canada, thereby creating a series of images linked to a short-hand version of Canadian history that focused on immigration and settlement. This treatment of Canada also highlight a coast-to-coast vision of Canada that was in keeping with other prominent discussions of Canada's development as a nation that were taking place in the 1930s. According to McKillop's discussion of Harold Innis and Canada's relationship to the United States and Britain:

> Innis explored the importance of staple industries as a determining factor in the economic, social, and political development of Canada. The country's geographical axis, he argued, was not north-south […] but east-west: the Canadian Shield and its river system provided an underlying natural unity that made Canada possible as a political entity. Donald Creighton would develop this Laurentian thesis, as it came to be called, in another influential historical study, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence 1760-1850* (1937), a work that benefited from its inclusion in the prestigious—and well-funded—transnational series, The Relations of Canada and the United States. From books by Innis and his followers, Canadians learned that history and geography situated Canada at the fulcrum of British and American influence, creating a kind of interpretive space that allowed the country's writers, scholars, politicians, and diplomats to occupy a mediating position between two imperial powers.

Chatelaine and the Journal certainly picked up on the east-west idea of Canada, making it into a key component of their content selection (discussed in detail in Chapter One) and the treatment of their readership (discussed in detail in Chapter Two). Interestingly, the magazines' producers were keenly aware of the American influence on the literary marketplace (and, potentially, on the national imagination), yet discussions of the United States itself are conspicuously absent from the pages of the magazines. The focus, instead, was almost on Canada—its history, regions, and culture—in and of itself.

Britain, for its part, most more likely to enter the magazine in the form of feature articles and photographs of the Royal Family, the occasional letter from a British reader that praised the magazine, or fictional works that dealt with Canada's British heritage. As I discuss in relation so Mazo de la Roche's Thunder of New Wings (see Chapter One) and Jenethea York's Lady Going West (see Chapter Four), Canada's heritage as a British colony was conflicted terrain, and I argue that the magazines, on the whole, asserted and explored an identity that was uniquely Canadian—that is, the magazines pursued an identity that acknowledged Canada's ties to Britain but that was ultimately separate and unique from—and, in the case of "Lady Going West," superior to—British identity.

The unique quality of Canada's identity was grounded in the idea and experience of immigration. This experience, as I discuss later in the chapter, were treated as the core of readers' personal histories and were therefore positioned as the foundation of readers' Canadian identities. Sanders, having moved to Canada as a child, shared this history herself, and her discussion of immigration treated it as a natural bond among herself and her readers. In 1932, Sanders introduced a new approach to representing Canadian history that focused on the role of women in creating that history. This strategy took two forms. First, *Chatelaine* began publishing articles by or about notable Canadian women such as Emily Murphy and L.M. Montgomery.[6] Second, *Chatelaine* began publishing pieces by or about ordinary Canadian women. This shift in focus was designed to make the discussion of nationhood into a contemporary issue that was relevant to the lives of that magazines' readers. Throughout the 1930s, for example, *Chatelaine* ran a series called "Women and Their Work" that detailed the contributions made by women to their communities through women's clubs and voluntary organizations. During the War,

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[6] Sanders' attention to biographies of Canadian women extended beyond *Chatelaine*. In 1945, her book *Emily Murphy* was released by the Toronto publisher Macmillan. In 1953, she published *Hey Ma! I Did It*, which she had co-written with Margaret Aitken. The book traced Aitken's transition from columnist for the *Toronto Telegraph* to Member of Parliament. Sanders' last book, *Famous Women*, looked at the lives of Emily Carr and Emily Murphy, among others, and it was released in 1958.

"Women and Their Work" became "Your War Work," and it began to include discussion of the paid work that women did in munitions factories and automotive plants. These activities, along with the shopping that women undertook on behalf of their families, were of particular interest to Sanders during the War because she had accepted a position as the director of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board in 1941. While Sanders' previous co-editor Mary Etta MacPherson took over many of Sanders' day-to-day responsibilities, Sanders remained *Chatelaine*'s official editor and she continued to publish frequent editorials. Not surprisingly, these editorials were intensely inflected with patriotism, and they sought to educate women on the importance of rationing, buying Canadian-made goods, and preventing the cycle of inflation and deflation that had made Canada economically unstable during and after the First World War. In this way, Sanders brought together the concerns of the state with *Chatelaine*'s editorial goals in her combined work as the director of a federal department and the editor of a national magazine.

At the end of the War, Sanders was made a Commander of the British Empire for her efforts, and she returned full-time to *Chatelaine*. She remained with the magazine until 1951. Her departure was ostensibly amicable, although the *Chatelaine*'s dwindling circulation figures after the War, followed by their rapid increase after Doris Anderson took over the magazine in the 1957, also suggest that the periodical needed a new editorial perspective if it was to prosper in the post-war era. As Valerie Korinek notes, "Sanders had a middle-class blindspot that grouped readers as essentially the same, or striving for upward mobility" (264). Indeed, as I explore further on in this chapter, this definition of Canadian readers was all-pervasive in *Chatelaine* throughout Sanders' tenure. Anderson, in contrast, would address not only class disparities, but also racial issues as she re-oriented the magazine towards second-wave feminism. Mary Etta Macpherson, for her part, left *Chatelaine* in 1947 to take over the *Canadian Home Journal* from long-time editor Catherine Wilma Tait.

Information regarding Catherine Wilma Tait, the *Journal*'s editor from 1930-47, is far more difficult to find than information on Sanders. While the *Journal* prospered under her leadership, Tait appears to have been in the public eye far less than Sanders, and while *Chatelaine* continues to celebrate its longevity with self-published histories such as *A Woman's Place: Seventy Years in the Lives of Canadian Women* (1997), the merge of the *Journal* into *Chatelaine* in 1958 has caused its history to be overshadowed by the more famous of the two periodicals. We do know that Tait took over the *Journal* from editor Jean Graham in January 1930, and that Tait remained with the magazine until Mary Etta Macpherson replaced her seventeen years later. Her editorship thus runs nearly parallel to that of Sanders' editorship, and the changes that Tait made to the magazine after 1930 suggest that, like her counterpart at *Chatelaine*, she was a savvy and influential editor. Where the *Journal* had been a Toronto-centric periodical directed at an upper-crust audience during the 1920s, Tait re-vamped it to appeal to a nation-wide, mass audience of middle-class women. She began by replacing a regular feature called "The Turn of the Wheel," which reviewed plays, musical performances, and gallery exhibitions that took place largely in Toronto, with reviews of Hollywood movies and recent novels by a mixture of Canadian and British authors. Tait also updated the images of women in the magazine, moving away from pictures of somewhat dowdy women dressed in Edwardian clothing, and wearing their hair in buns, to women clothed in modern, Chanel-influenced fashions and sporting bobbed hair. Last, she significantly altered the non-fiction contents of the magazine. Where the *Journal* of the 1920s discussed such topics as hosting society parties and managing servants, the *Journal* of the 1930s ran articles that ranged from advice on how to form a community theatre group in a small town to pieces on families who had recovered after losing everything in the 1929 stock market crash. During the War, the *Journal* also kept pace with the changing demands on women in terms of work and home management. The changes that Tait made in 1930 immediately expanded the *Journal*'s subscription base from 100 000 in 1928 to 150 000 in 1930, and the numbers continued to grow under Tait's direction, hitting 260 000 in 1940. Despite her apparent influence, Tait tended to be unforthcoming about her vision for the magazine, and her editorials appeared sporadically—on average, she published only two or three pieces a year during the early to mid-1930s. By 1940, she did not publish editorials at all, having apparently turned this responsibility over to Margaret

Lawrence, the *Journal*'s fiction editor, who published editorial pieces each month from 1938 to 1942.

Lawrence earned a degree in Modern History from the University in 1920, after which she worked as a free-lance journalist for the next twelve years and published two books (*LaSalle* (1922) and *Mediums and Mystics* (1925)). She was particularly engaged with the history of the women's rights movement and the careers of female writers. She joined the *Journal* in January 1929 with an article on fiction called "Romance: Is it Simply an Appreciation of Beauty or an Illusion?" In it, she half-lamented, half-joked about the all-too-apparent gap between "real" life and the romance of *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Pride and Prejudice*. Throughout the 1930s, Lawrence selected fiction for publication and penned the occasional book review for the *Journal*; she also wrote and published *The School of Femininity: A Book for and About Women as They Are Interpreted Through Feminine Writers of Yesterday and Today* (published in England as *We Write as Women*) in 1936. In this work, she argues that such a book was significant because "from the time of Mary Wollstonecraft until to-day the writing of women has gathered itself into a of mass literary material, and is a vital provocative moving field of study" (10). Despite her dedication to the study of women's writing, and her own extensive career in editing and journalism, Lawrence left the Journal in 1942, shortly before her marriage to Benedict Greene (the publisher of *Who's Who in Canada*), and never wrote professionally again. Her decision to leave the magazine—a decision that contrasts sharply with Sanders' decision to maintain a career at Chatelaine and, during the War, with the federal government despite her marriage to Frank Sperry—mark the tension between the work of female authors and the traditional expectation that married women did not work outside of the home. *Love Letters to Baruch*, the posthumous publication of the letters exchanged between Lawrence and Greene before their marriage offer insight into Lawrence's private life, thus filling out our understanding of her personal feelings and religious beliefs, as well as her skill as a writer. The same can be said of the ongoing correspondence she maintained with Bliss Carman (collected in *Bliss Carman's Letters to Margaret Lawrence, 1927-29* (Ed. D.M.R. Bentley), which constitute another element of her contribution to Canadian arts and letters and, in particular, to building up the careers of authors she was in a position to influence or assist either through personal correspondence or through her role in selecting fiction for publication in a magazine with a nation-wide circulation.

During the Second World War, Lawrence's editorials were, not surprisingly, focused on the War and, in particular, the work of women in winning it, thus providing insight into the *Journal*'s treatment of nationalism and the relationship that women had to it. Moreover, the contents that Tait and Lawrence chose to publish, and the editorial pieces that they wrote, formulated a definition of Canadian identity that was designed to appeal to their mass audience of female readers. Indeed, the focus at both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* continually reflected on nationhood and the influence that women had over it or, alternately, the ways in which women's lives were influenced by it. The success of the editorial decisions of Sanders and Tait was evident in the ongoing growth of subscriptions for both of their magazines, suggesting the popular acceptance of the identity that the editors constructed and, in turn, revealing the ways in which mass-market magazines participated in nation-building.

This participation adopted a decidedly friendly tone in *Chatelaine*. The editorials that Sanders wrote for the magazine typically sounded like personal letters to a close friend, or the conversation of a hostess managing a party, rather than printed essays that were intended for a wide audience of anonymous readers. Sanders' editorials served three purposes: they expressed opinions, they asked readers to share their thoughts, and they introduced readers to the authors whose work appeared in any given issue. The editorials also made it clear that the contents of each issue came into being through the collective effort of both Sanders' Toronto-based staff and a broad group of journalistic writers, fiction authors, and artists who submitted work from across Canada. In this way, Sanders presented herself and her staff as a set of individuals who were devoted to serving Canadian women through *Chatelaine*, and who took an avid interest in the ideas, opinions, and everyday lives of readers. Indeed, the editorials were designed to sound as if they were one-half of a conversation, with a multitude of unprinted voices all responding through letters to the editor making up the other half of that conversation. The magazine content itself was positioned as a response to the needs of readers, causing the magazines' relationship with readers to be discussed as a relationship based on reciprocity and common interests.

This attitude towards readers was readily apparent in Sanders' inaugural editorial, which was printed in September 1929 under the title "The Heroism of Women: an Introductory Dissertation by a New Editor." The piece reflects Sanders' style of writing and her overarching concerns for the magazine in ways that are consistent with the vast majority of her editorials, as it addresses readers in a cheerful, friendly tone and takes up topics of interest that would recur in Sanders' editorials over the next twenty-two years. These topics include the ongoing discussion of the character and quality of Canadian women and the contributions that women made—or could make—to the nation. In introducing herself to readers for the first time, for example, Sanders argued that Canadian women "were increasingly conscious of their potential" (Sept. 1929 16), and she went on to explain her choice to accept the editorship of *Chatelaine* by remarking:

> It is an absorbing business[,] this editing of a magazine, and I can only hope that you find a tithe of the interest in reading it that the staff find in preparing it for you. We are obviously in such a dramatic era in Canadian history, an era in which our women are playing a constantly increasing and understanding role. We are, as a nation, becoming so conscious of ourselves, our potentialities, our possibilities, that we cannot help but feel the stir and growth of this realization day by day. In choosing a field of service in this panorama of awakening consciousness, I can honestly think of no more enthralling one than the [service of] Canadian women. (Sept. 1929 16)

In serving women and the nation, Sanders proposed that *Chatelaine* would tell the story of Canadian women's history through its feature articles, that it would provide information on topics that women were "questing and demanding" (16) to know more about, and that it would assist in helping women improve living conditions across Canada by promoting political discussion.

Sanders set herself out as a woman able to achieve these ends because she had educated herself on the needs of women and the uses of print in meeting those needs. As she explained, "from the first issue of *Chatelaine*, I have studied and watched this magazine, not only with the reader's point of view, but with an editorial slant" (16). Moreover, she had recently

> spent several evenings minutely checking the answers to the questionnaire sent out to many of our readers, to discover just what you liked best in the magazine. These answers are almost as good as a personal hour with you, and were astonishing, in that they showed a wide unanimity of opinion in likes and dislikes. (16)

She went on to argue that *Chatelaine*'s reading public was an "all powerful, nebulous body of which you [the reader] are a typical component" (16), yet the "wide unanimity of opinion" that Sanders highlights effectively drew together this nebulous body as a community of women with shared interests. Sanders, then, defined *Chatelaine* as a cultural entity that was deeply responsive to the needs of readers, and that was deeply respectful of the role women had played, and continued to play, in developing the Canadian nation.

In keeping with this, Sanders devoted part of her first editorial to her reflections on *Chatelaine*'s role in recording the history of women in Canada. These reflections focused on the purpose of a series of articles that *Chatelaine* had launched in July 1929. The series was called "The Women Who Made Canada," and it consisted of articles on the immigration of European families to different regions of Canada and the work that women did in building their new communities. Sanders noted the painstaking research required to write each historical piece, and posited that the series itself was "unique with *The Chatelaine* and should provide valuable material for future reference" (16). By positioning *Chatelaine* in this way, she configured the magazine as not only a popular medium that made the history of women in Canada available to contemporary readers, but also a historical document that would prove valuable to future readers wishing to understanding their nation. Further to this, Sanders' description of both *Chatelaine*'s work and the work of Canadian women united the magazine and its audience together in a common purpose: the construction of the Canadian nation. She went on to outline her perceptions of Canadian women and their relationship to nation-building:

> We talk a great deal of our early pioneer women; we have been telling you something about them in *The Chatelaine*, and future issues will carry further articles about them. I have lived among Canadian women in tiny villages and sleepy towns, small cities, and large ones, and have had rare opportunities of sensing and watching some of the enthralling life stories of high courage and selfless determination, which are being enacted in our own times. […] It is, of course, the relentless demand of a new country that expects heroism from its women, a demand which in some miraculous way the majority of women seem able to meet. (Sept. 1929 16)

Beyond outlining courage and selfless determination as the foundational qualities of Canadian women as heroic figures, Sanders' statement assumes that either the ancestry or the direct experience of the typical reader lay in immigration. Importantly, the actual date of one's immigration, and the diversity of countries from which readers might have travelled, are ignored. In this way, the editorial suggests that these aspects of a readers' personal history are relatively unimportant in relation to the new Canadian identity that immigrant women adopted and the overall bond of a shared history of immigration. While other aspects of *Chatelaine* focused on contemporary and, in particular, urban life, this overarching category of the immigrant pioneer woman, and the rhetoric of the "new" nation being formed through the efforts of its citizens, underwrote the discussions of everyday life in Canada that, as I explore later, took place in the feature articles, fiction, and advertising within the magazine.

Catherine Wilma Tait did not publish an inaugural editorial in which she introduced herself to readers and outlined the purposes and goals for the magazine to which her working life was dedicated. As noted earlier, by 1938 Tait had left Margaret Lawrence, the literary editor, to address readers through opinion-style editorial pieces. Like Sanders, Margaret Lawrence's editorials for the *Journal* frequently reflected on the role of women in building the Canadian nation. Her reflections often led her to examine the place of ideals in the everyday lives of women and to discuss the goals that she felt Canadian women ought to set for themselves. Lawrence's editorial for August 1940, titled "They Are Our Children Too," was on par with her usual style and concerns.

"They Are Our Children Too" discussed the arrival of British children who would be living with Canadian families for the duration of the War. She encouraged women who had agreed to take in these children to think of them as their own and thus provide the children with the same love and discipline that they presumably gave to their own children. Throughout the editorial, Lawrence treats the home as not only the natural realm of women, but also the foundation of community life and, in turn, national life. As she puts it, "our people are in their community life what we make them starting from the home community. The home, as the wise have always pointed out, is the "cell" of life. From it comes the beginning of everything" (2). The home, she goes on to argue, is the site of "character building," which she first calls the "basic human industry" (2) and then names as "the industry of women" (2). Through this industry, she argues, women have the power to create a more just and more peaceful society by raising their children with love that is not an "indulgent, casual blow-hot, blow-cool love" (2) but instead is a "cherishing, teaching, protective love, taking the young souls under the wings of the spirit to prepare for the experience to come" (2). Women's contribution to society, then, was an indirect one that was made through raising children well, rather than through any direct participation in life outside of the home. In this way, Lawrence's editorial serves as an indication of both the limitations on women that were expressed through the magazines and the contradictions in defining women's agency in Canada. Whereas other articles in the *Journal* would, for example, consider women's work with CWAC or in munitions plants as essential to the war effort, "They Are Our Children Too" insists that women's most important role in life is the staunchly traditional one. It was between these contradictions that women and their relationship to nationhood was mapped, particularly during the flux of the War. While I discuss this in more detail in Chapter Five, it is important to note here that Lawrence's editorial, which takes the Second World War as its backdrop, makes women ultimately responsible for the nation. As she concludes, if "women do not work consistently and intelligently," then "the cause of civilization is already gone" (2) even if the War was won.

Significantly, Lawrence grounds her authority as a writer in the Bible, thus constructing Canada as a Christian nation. Whereas Sanders stressed the research that she had done in reading *Chatelaine*, as well as her experiences living within various communities in Canada, as the rationale for her authority, Lawrence turns to religious teaching. This was a typical manoeuvre on Lawrence's part. While a Christian slant of the *Journal* did not typically emerge in the majority of the magazines' contents, such as fiction or feature articles, when it came to editorials and advice, Lawrence and the *Journal*'s advice columnist, Eleanor Dare, often referred to the Bible as the foundation for thought and opinion. In doing so, they took for granted that their readers were Christian, thereby drawing attention to the *Journal*'s exclusion of other denominations from both the magazines' readership and from the way in which the *Journal* represented Canada as a nation. At the same time, they connected their opinions regarding morality and character to the church-based communities throughout Canada to which they assumed women belonged. In this way, the *Journal* integrated its editorial identity into an aspect of everyday life in Canada in a way that strengthened its bond with readers and marked its contribution to developing the nation not only through its communication with individual readers, but also through its readily apparent respect for Christian teachings and the church-related aspects of the lives of many Canadians.

This link between actual communities and the magazine also played out in the ways in which the *Journal* presented its fiction to readers. In August 1940, for instance, two of the four pieces selected for publication had won literary prizes in the Toronto Women's Canadian Club's annual literary competition. The club's location in Toronto spoke to the *Journal*'s history of focusing largely on an Ontario audience, yet the publication of Ontario writers and locations was conspicuously absent in this issue. The two prize-winning stories, "Spring Always Comes" and "The Furrow," were both were set in the prairies. While I analyse both works later in this chapter, I would like to point out now that both stories took up the struggles of two families who had immigrated from Europe and taken up farming upon arriving in Canada, and that both stories treated the family farm as the backbone of life in Canada. As such, the family farm was wholesome, laden with the values of hard work and self-sacrifice, and committed to the principle of growth. Ultimately, it was the means through which one built a better life for oneself and for one's country. Appearing alongside these stories was the second instalment of a serial by New Brunswick writer Louis Arthur Cunningham. A popular author for the *Journal*, Cunningham's "Light Was Her Laughter" combined the portrayal of an elite lifestyle set in Quebec City with that of a more humble existence on the Acadian coast of Nova Scotia. The fourth story, "You Only Live Once," was set in London, with the presence of a story about England suggesting an apparently natural cultural bond between Canada and England. This combination of stories sought to offer a partial view of Canada and of some of the ways of life possible within the Dominion while simultaneously looking beyond the Dominion to middle-class life in London. In this way, the *Journal* evaded marking itself as the Toronto-centric publication that it had once been while fostering a relationship with the Toronto Women's Canadian Club. This relationship situated the magazine within a concrete community of readers who, on one hand, stood in as representatives of the literary taste of other readers across Canada and who, on the other hand, wished to identify literary merit in order to realize an altruistic goal of developing Canadian literature. This sense of altruism, and the focus on literary merit rather than potential commercial success, was stressed in the *Journal* as well as in *Chatelaine*.

In *Chatelaine*'s case, Sanders positioned literature and the arts as "uplifting" and "inspiring" (Feb. 1930 16) elements of the magazine, and she presented herself as the friendly intermediary between readers and the creators of fiction and non-fiction pieces. In doing so, she discussed the magazine as a forum through which a diverse group of talented individuals was brought together with a national body of interested readers. In this way, the editorials stressed the ways in which *Chatelaine* generated a dynamic, print-based community that contributed to both the artistic life of the nation and the intellectual lives of readers. In Sanders' June 1932 editorial, for example, she provided a brief introduction for each fiction and non-fiction author. These introductions included some biographical details about the author, a preview of her work, and an explanation for each work's inclusion in the magazine. While this content was fairly standard, Sanders celebrated the June 1932 issue as a literary coup: *Chatelaine* had secured first publication rights for latest work by the popular and critically acclaimed Mazo de la Roche.

Titled “The Thunder of New Wings,” the novel-length work was published as a serial that ran for eight months, with the first episode appearing in the June issue. While Sanders reflected briefly on the prestige that publishing a well-known author gave to *Chatelaine*, she quickly shifted into the question of how de la Roche’s story might be received by readers. She remarked that she was

> hoping for some very interesting arguments on this book, for Mazo de la Roche has never yet written anything of the type which elicits a bland, “My, my yes. That was a pretty story”—plus complete forgetfulness from general readers. Her novels are of the type that arouse vivid interest: different points of view—and therefore healthful thought. Don’t forget to share your opinions with *Chatelaine*, will you? (16)

This focus on reception made readers central to cultural production in a way that made *Chatelaine*’s audience part of a conversation about developments in Canadian arts and letters that was facilitated by *Chatelaine*’s editors. Further to this, Sanders encouraged readers to engage in “healthful thought” in a way that resisted the restrictions of domestic life that, for instance, Lawrence’s editorial suggested were the natural domain of women. By making readers’ opinions, and their expression of them, into an important activity about which *Chatelaine*’s editors cared, the editorial turned de la Roche’s story into a starting point for intellectual discussion and suggested that both *Chatelaine* and its readers were participating in an artistically-oriented articulation of Canadian culture.

The apparent good will underlying such a purpose also surfaces in the June 1932 editorial, as Sanders sidestepped the magazines’ dependence on advertising and consumerism in favour of emphasizing its service to Canada literature and Canadian readers. Where Sanders cheerfully previewed almost the entire contents of the issue, she did not include the advertising content of the magazine in her editorial. While advertising made up roughly one-third of *Chatelaine*’s contents, and was the financially sustaining force that kept the magazine in print, its presence was treated as an element of the magazine that was divorced from the editorial work of circulating art, literature, and ideas. According to Valerie Korinek, *Chatelaine* in the 1950s and 1960s “might best be understood as a magazine in which two languages were spoken: editorial and advertising”

(70). This division holds true in the magazines' earlier incarnations as well, with the editorials adopting a decided focus on their earnest desire to launch and build the careers of fiction writers, journalistic writers, and artists by bringing them together with Canadian readers. *Chatelaine*'s editorial focus on arranging for artistic contributors to "meet" their readers through print was not only intended to support Canadian cultural works, but also to inspire "healthful thought" and debate among a community of readers who came to know one another through art and culture rather than through consumerism.

Further to this, Sanders' concluding sentence makes it clear that she wished *Chatelaine* to be perceived as the domain of cultural, rather than commercial, producers. Bidding her readers farewell until next month, she wrote, "meanwhile, friends, here's hoping you're enjoying the June issue; it represents a lot of high hopes and ambitions on the part of editors, writers, and artists" (2). By effacing the commercial demands of producing a magazine, and instead highlighting the magazine's artistic qualities, Sanders represented *Chatelaine* as a cultural entity that was separate from the commercial realm. Indeed, Sanders' discussion of de la Roche deals entirely with the excitement and prestige of scooping a well-known author, one whose work she felt confident readers would find intriguing. In all likelihood, the staff at *Chatelaine* hoped for an increase in sales and subscriptions prompted by the publication of a popular author, yet this side of the magazines' editorial choices is never acknowledged.

Through this lack of acknowledgement, Sanders and her co-editors participated in what Pierre Bourdieu describes as a "collective disavowal of commercial interests and profits," ("Production" 75) in which cultural producers locate the value of a work of art or literature in a purely symbolic realm. Whereas "producers and vendors of cultural goods who 'go commercial' condemn themselves […] from an ethical or aesthetic point of view" (75), producers and vendors who appear to be solely interested in the ethical and aesthetic value of a given work cultivate the caché of integrity. By discussing the contents of *Chatelaine* in terms of their artistic merit and, in doing so, emphasizing the magazines' role bringing these contents to readers, Sanders structured this integrity into the editorial identity of *Chatelaine*. Editorial integrity, in turn, fed into the altruism inherent in the discussion of "serving" readers and fostering national consciousness that

Sanders named, in her first editorial, as her key purpose. By eliding the commercial, for-profit side of the magazine, she insisted that the importance of each text, not to mention *Chatelaine* as a whole, lay in its respective contributions to Canadian literature and thought. These contributions, as it happens, were central to the work that authors did in supplying the magazines with stories about Canadian life, and it is the work of authors to which I now turn.

Authorship, Nationality, and Gender

In exploring the question "What is an author? Michel Foucault concludes that an author is an "ideological figure" whose identity limits the proliferation of meaning that a written text makes possible (230). Accordingly, our perceptions of authorial identity influence the interpretation of a given work of literature and the potential meanings towards which we gravitate. The editors of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, while they worked several decades before Foucault, understood full well how to define authorship on the pages of their magazines in a way that directed readers toward interpreting literature as inherently and uniquely Canadian. At the same time, female authors were discussed as wives and mothers in a way that defined authorship for women as an activity that came in second to traditional gender expectation of marriage, motherhood, and home management. As I explore below, authorship as it was defined by *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* was grounded in national identity, and the national identity of female authors was inflected with the traditional gender expectations for women. In this way, the magazines were able to promote themselves as a forum for Canadian literature and a publishing venue for Canadian writers, thus highlighting their service to the nation. They were also able to support and encourage female authors, and include the articulations of national identity that these authors expressed through their fiction, while simultaneously maintaining gender norms that placed women within the homes that made up the nation.

The June 1932 issue of *Chatelaine* contained four works of fiction, with the total pagination assigned to the fiction equalling roughly one-quarter of the magazines' contents. Notably, the fiction appeared in double-page spreads in the first part of the magazine, suggesting its appeal and importance to readers and reminding us that in a decade when novels were expensive, periodicals were a primary source of literature.

Indeed, the issue contained the first instalment of a new serial by the popular and critically-acclaimed Canadian novelist, Mazo de la Roche, alongside three short stories. All three of these stories, in contrast to de la Roche, were written by first-time contributors. They included Melanie Benet's "Trial by Thunder," Eva L. Bruce's "Pyjamas," and W. David Belbeck's "Fat Girl." Benet, as it turns out, would go on to become a regular contributor to *Chatelaine*, publishing up to two stories a year with the periodical over the next two decades.

As with *Chatelaine*, fiction was a prominent feature of the *Journal*. In the August 1940 issue, it ran four stories, two of which had won literary prizes from the Toronto Women's Canadian Club. These stories were F. Marjorie Jordan's "Spring Always Comes" and John E. Nixon's "The Furrow." Alongside these pieces, the *Journal* printed the second instalment of Louis Arthur Cunningham's serial "Light Was Her Laughter," and a short story called "You Only Live Once" by Michael Arlen. Of these authors, only de la Roche's and Cunningham's names are likely to sound familiar, while the others have since drifted into obscurity. Regardless of their status, the magazines celebrated them all (except Arlen, who was British and who received no attention whatsoever[7]) as Canadian authors. Beyond simply being Canadian, these three authors were also set out as individuals who, as the editorial blurb preceding "The Furrow" put it, had and "important message for all Canadians" (12).

I begin by looking at Mazo de la Roche's construction as an author because, in keeping with her fame, Mazo de la Roche's "The Thunder of New Wings," was one of the most celebrated features to appear in *Chatelaine* in the 1930s. The attention that she received in June 1932, when the serial began, therefore provides many insights into the ways in which authorship was discussed in the magazines. "The Thunder of New Wings" ran from June 1932 to February 1933, with de la Roche being proclaimed by Sanders as one of Canada's most gifted writers. She was also immensely popular—at her death in 1961, she had sold more than nine million books world-wide—and, from the late 1920s on, she proved to be one of Canada's most prolific novelists. Born in 1879 in Newmarket, Ontario, de la Roche achieved international renown in 1927 when her third novel, *Jalna*, won the $10 000 *Atlantic Monthly* Book Prize. *Jalna* would prove to be the first of sixteen novels that de la Roche would eventually write about the Whiteoaks, a family that had emigrated from Britain by way of India in the mid-1800s. Set in the 1920s, *Jalna* features the then-current world of music, literature, religion, marriage, farming, and schooling as it underpins the family saga of the Whiteoaks. de la Roche's portrayal of life on an Ontario farm caused her to be identified as a Canadian author who had created a vivid rendering of life in Canada. Ironically, Canada was not the country in which de la Roche remained immersed after her initial success, as the money that she received from the *Atlantic Monthly* (an American magazine) enabled her to move to Devon, England in 1927, where she lived until the beginning of the Second World War.

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[7] Arlen was also a successful pulp fiction writer who specialized in romances, suggesting that the Journal's editors may have also wished to leave the publication of his story undiscussed because of his association with literature considered to be low class.

Her desertion of Canada for England caused at least one contemporary critic, E.K. Brown, to lament in 1938 that in

> Miss de la Roche's novels one may well feel that the emphasis is always falling on those comparatively rare aspects of rural Ontario life which would appeal to an English audience. [...] Whether this peculiarity has been injurious to the novelist's art as art does not concern the present question, but I do not think it even doubtful that it has been injurious to the development of literature in this country. Such fiction fails to contribute what one would hope to find in it—a stimulus to the maturing and defining of Canadian culture. (12)

While that may have been the case, neither de la Roche's popularity, nor her identity as a national figure in Canadian arts and letters, were at all doubted in the editorial treatment she received in *Chatelaine*. Rather, Sanders was clearly elated to include de la Roche's 8-month serial, and the launch of "The Thunder of New Wings" merited a one-page biography in which de la Roche was named "a Canadian of Canadians" (4). At the same time, the biography idealized de la Roche's accomplishments in a way that compared the author's life to a romance, thereby drawing together the generic qualities of her work with her personal history in a way that wove together the author and the work seamlessly. In Sanders' words:

> it isn't often that the personal stories of famous writers are half as romantic as the novels they write; but to hear about Mazo de la Roche is to listen to a glamorous fairy tale of genius—the kind of genius "that has an infinite capacity for taking pains." For here is the story of a traditional lady of the pen, left without family or fortune, but with a fine old heritage of Canadian courage behind her, and an unquenchable desire to write. It is the tale of a young woman who, after years of dogged struggle, suddenly woke one bright morning to find fame and fortune sitting comfortably on her doorstep. (June 1932 4)

The heritage of Canadian courage mentioned here resonates with Sanders' treatment of the pioneer woman in her inaugural editorial, thereby placing de la Roche within a broader narrative of nation-building in which immigrants improve their lot in life through "years of dogged struggle." In de la Roche's case, this heritage leads to a career as an author, with de la Roche eventually being elevated, in Sanders' estimation at least, to the status of a genius.

Chatelaine thus held de la Roche up as a both an exemplary Canadian citizen and an outstanding artist who contributed to the development of the nation's literature. In doing so, de la Roche communicated with not only Canadian readers, but also an international group of readers who came to know Canada through de la Roche's writing. As Sanders remarked, *Jalna* was "acclaimed everywhere as one of the most notable incidents in the history of Canadian literature" (2), and "The Thunder of New Wings":

> is the dramatic story of two English girls and their Canadian cousin who leave England to come and live on a Nova Scotia farm. There will be nation-wide interest in the novel—and many discussions of it. For Mazo de la Roche never writes a novel that does not arouse some controversy. Publication of this story with its thrilling title is one of the big magazine events of the year. (2)

By situating itself as a magazine that brought fiction of national interest to its readers and provoked discussion among them, *Chatelaine* promoted a national cultural phenomenon in which the author, the publisher, and the reader were all united in an event of Canadian literature. The significance of the author, as far as *Chatelaine* was concerned, lay in her ability to portray Canada and, in doing so, to participate in the development of Canadian culture.

Like *Chatelaine*, the *Journal* made the construction of Canadian identity a function of authorship. In the August 1940 issue, for example, the *Journal* published the second instalment of a serial by the prolific and popular Louis Arthur Cunningham. Cunningham, like de la Roche, was Canadian by birth. Born in Saint John, New Brunswick in 1900, he went on to receive his B.A. and M.A. from St. Joseph's College in Memramcook, New Brunswick. His studies focused on French, English, and Latin, yet Gwendolyn Davies argues that he also "absorbed from his association with rural Acadians and his proximity to the physical landscape of the Bay of Fundy those elements that were to inform a number of his short stories and novels" (x) during his time there. Cunningham did, indeed, use the local landscape and culture as the basis for his most popular novels, in including *Fog Over Fundy* (1936) and *Yvon Tremblay* (1927), with *Fog Over Fundy* first appearing as a serialized novel in the *Journal* during 1936. The story focused on the lives of a Canadian family and was set in a combination of New Brunswick, Montreal, and New York. It proved so popular that *Fog Over Fundy* was picked up by the Penn Publishing Company of Philadelphia in 1936 and re-printed in 1940. In 2006, it was re-published as a "Formac Fiction Treasure" (Formac Publishers, Halifax), suggesting a resurgence of interest in his novels after the relative obscurity of his work that followed his death in 1954.

This resurgence is facilitated by the Louis Arthur Cunningham fonds at the University of New Brunswick, which contain manuscripts for thirty novels, five hundred short stories, and numerous articles on Maritime geography and history. As the archive suggests, Cunningham wrote at an astonishing pace, typically publishing one 40 000-word serial in the *Journal* each year along with one or two short stories. He supported himself through writing full-time, and the article that Douglas A. MacLennan wrote for the *Toronto Daily Star* (following MacLennan's 1939 interview of Cunningham) explains that Cunningham:

> wrote compulsively, banning the radio, telephone, and doorbell from his home so that he could have total solitude in which to work. Once he embarked on a story or novel, he composed furiously in longhand, and his wife then typed the manuscript. He never read over his text, never changed the plot once he had started to write and ate and slept just enough to finish "thousands of words a day" until the story was ready for revision. By Christmas of that year, [...] he would have completed and sold six book-length novels and 150 000 words of short stories and articles to magazines. (Davies xiii)

While many of these magazines were American, many were also Canadian, including not only the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*, but also *Canadian Magazine* and *The Star Weekly*. Cunningham appears to have had an excellent rapport with his periodical publishers, and was quoted in a 1961 article in *Evening Times-Globe* to the effect that he "could not have survived" as a writer without the "steadiness, reliability, and consistency of the English magazine market. Not once did that market turn down a good story; not once did it fail to pay; not once did it make a bad grimace or cry havoc" (Davies xiii).

There is no doubt that Cunningham was an author staunchly supported by the *Journal* in the way that Cunningham notes in the above passage. The Journal's support of his work, and both Chatelaine and the Journal's support for Canadian authors more generally, signals their unique importance to writers. Indeed, it stands in contrast to the concerns expressed by the Canadian Author's Association, Robert Stead, in 1922 over the prevalence of American magazines in Canada. As Clarence Karr notes:

> During his national tour as president in 1922, Robert Stead highlighted the enormous circulation of American magazines in Canada and noted that, with the availability of cheap syndicated American fiction, Canadian magazines and newspapers printed very little Canadian fiction. (221)

Eight years later, the editorial commentary on Cunningham clearly indicates a desire to alter this scenario. In January 1930, for instance, the usually taciturn editor Catherine Wilma Tait took the trouble to introduce his first publication in the *Journal* as that of a "distinguished" author (68). Six years later, in anticipation of the launch of "Fog Over Fundy," Tait encouraged readers to look forward to the story. In her words:

> against the beauty of the Acadian land which he loves, alternately magnificent and gentle, ghostly-grey and terribly stern, Louis Arthur Cunningham has created a tale of haunting mystery and tender love, of the quietness which life can have and the storms which can tear that quietness when fear and jealousy are born. (Nov. 1936 14)

Tait not only set out Cunningham as a skilled Canadian author of Canadian fiction in this passage, but also penned a capsule version of the Acadian coast as it was represented by Cunningham. In doing so, she stressed his authorial skill in bringing this region to life in the reader's imagination. This relationship, in which the author prompted the readers' imagining of Canada, was central to the author's function in both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*. As prolific and well-known writer, de la Roche and Cunningham were both championed by the magazines for both their success and for their ability to represent Canada to their readers.

Beyond stressing the national identity of authors, Tait and Sanders stressed the traditional gender roles played by female authors as a presumably common bond they shared with readers. In the June 1932 issue of *Chatelaine*, for example, Sanders was careful to explain that de la Roche had adopted two children and that she spent much of her time raising her son and daughter in addition to writing. Sanders describes de la Roche enjoying walks in the country and spending time in her "quaint, old gabled house" with its "beautiful garden" (2). Sanders went on to inform readers that "since moving to England [de la Roche] has adopted two children—Michael and Patsy—two happy little youngsters who bring love and laughter into the busy days" (2). Such descriptions correlated nicely with *Chatelaine*'s articles on home management, in which gardening, household décor, and childcare were frequent topics. Moreover, the description firmly located de la Roche within a domestic setting and made her career an author, if not secondary to her role as a mother, then at least wholly integrated with it. Sanders went on to bring de la Roche's family life into a Canadian context by presenting a relationship between family ties and national ones:

> Miss de la Roche and her adopted family are coming to Canada this year—they often come home to re-establish old friendships and are seriously thinking of

> coming home to live. For as much as Miss de la Roche loves the quiet of her old-world Devon home, she finds herself homesick for her own land and her own people. (2)

Significantly, this statement conflates de la Roche's private home with the idea of a national homeland; at the same time, her children, while growing up abroad, are presented as essentially Canadian children who can be easily integrated in Canadian life if ever de la Roche chose to return to "her own land and her own people."

Sanders, in emphasizing the domestic side of de la Roche's life and her bonds with Canada, neatly sidesteps the question of de la Roche's marital status. The author was unmarried, and she raised the two children she adopted with her cousin, Carolyn Clement, as part of a nuclear family that she supported through her writing. Whereas most of *Chatelaine*'s contents assumed that readers were the wives of men who filled the traditional masculine role of family breadwinner, de la Roche's career and family life challenged this familial construct. The fact that de la Roche was such a breadwinner was also a rare achievement for an author. According to Frank Davey's research on the economics of authorship in this period:

> Authors who were able to support themselves or their families through their writing have been sufficiently rare in Canada to become the subject of gossip and legend. […] Apart from journalists and a few novelists, such as L.M. Montgomery, Mazo de la Roche, Gabrielle Roy, and Yves Theriault, who achieved international success and benefited from royalties earn by foreign sales and film rights, most Canadian writers in the 1920-80 period needed to augment substantially their earnings from writing in order to meet life's basic needs. (103)

Sanders, however, chose to gloss over the challenge that de la Roche posed to traditional gender expectations, as well as her highly unusual ability to earn a living solely through writing fiction, by keeping the focus of the biography that she wrote firmly on the ways in which de la Roche's home life and responsibilities as a parent were in harmony with her work as a writer. Moreover, she noted that de la Roche worked in the home, keeping her physically located within the domestic realm and never, presumably, too far away from her children. de la Roche, then, was celebrated as a genius of Canadian literature, yet her genius was mixed in equal parts with her status as a mother in a way that aligned her with the audience of Canadian wives and mothers that *Chatelaine* sought to cultivate. In doing so, Sanders linked together the audience and the author through a discussion of the home and traditional gender expectations while simultaneously eliding the ways in de la Roche's career as a writer contradicted those expectations.

Motherhood was equally important in the presentation of lesser-known female authors; in contrast, parenthood and domestic life did not enter into discussions of male authors. Sanders' introduction of Eva L. Bruce and Melanie Benet, for example, emphasized their domesticity. She noted that Melanie Benet, who wrote the short story "Trial by Thunder" was from Montreal, and that Benet had four daughters. Sanders also noted that Benet "like[d] to sit in the garden and write with a pad poised on her knee" (2). This neo-paradisiacal image made writing akin to a leisure pursuit at the same time that it fit writing neatly into the demands of managing a home. In introducing Eva L. Bruce, an author from Evansburg, Alberta, Sanders again drew attention to the author's role as a mother, noting that Bruce had "a son who will be ready for Normal school in a year" (2). Sanders also described Bruce as "a brand new writer who is, I believe, in the jargon of the printing world, "a comer." Her first short story is published in this issue; and you'll find a real sense of humour and an understanding of simple people in this amusing tale" (2). Such an introduction suggested that other women, like Bruce, could make a transition from motherhood to authorship, and that *Chatelaine* was willing to support this transition by publishing the works of new writers. At the same time, the story's setting, "Coal Town," echoed Bruce's own location, as Evansburg was a coal mining town in the 1930s. The parallel between the author's life and the work of fiction also suggested that women could draw from personal experience and observation in writing stories that *Chatelaine* would share with the rest of the country. In fact, Sanders made a similar gesture with regard to a short story by Benet in November 1938, noting that she had asked Benet to publish a brief autobiographical piece for readers' enjoyment. In this piece, Benet remarked that

> the chief difficulty, I find, in writing an autobiographical paragraph […] is that what feels to me like a crowded and eventful existence sounds so intensely calm

> and domestic. For undoubtedly the most important part of my life consists chiefly of one large husband, one very small garden, and four consecutive daughters—the oldest in first year high school, and the youngest in just plain first year. As for the business of writing, it's merely a question of finding time and patience to stick at what is to me a fairly hard job with an irresistible fascination. And as for personal data, I'm entirely Canadian, born and educated and liv[ing] right here in Westmount. (16)

Not coincidentally, Benet's Westmount location marks her as more than comfortably middle-class. The home was also where writing took place, and authors like Benet, as her autobiography implies, were supported by their husbands, making writing into a secondary occupation rather than a fully-fledged profession.

In these ways, authorship for women was treated not as a profession, but as a skill that fitted comfortably into familial demands. This treatment also undid the association between authorship and genius that was attributed to authors like de la Roche by making the category of "author" not a lofty or learned designation, but an accessible part-time occupation. At the same time, the kind of biographical information that *Chatelaine* liked to provide about female authors created a feeling of intimacy and shared experiences. In contrast, W. David Belbeck, who was the one male author who appeared in the June 1932 issue of *Chatelaine*, was treated more or less anonymously. Sanders was careful to note his location—Swift Current, Saskatchewan—and thereby stress his Canadian identity, but she avoided any discussion of his private life. In this way, *Chatelaine* distinguished female authors from male ones and, in doing so, constructed a bond between women authors and women readers that was grounded in gender expectations. In turn, these expectations fit into the overarching category of nationality, of which W. David Belbeck was a part, thereby situating authors and their fiction within the context of nationhood in a way that drew together readers and authors as a national community fostered by *Chatelaine*.

Canadian identity and authorial identity, then, were two halves of a whole in the treatment that writers received in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*. This was true of both eminently successful writers, such as Mazo de la Roche, and lesser-known authors, like

Melanie Benet. As I discuss in the analysis of the fiction that follows, articulations of Canadian experiences were an inherent part of the literature championed by both magazines. Authors were thereby made a part of the magazines' aims to educate readers about Canada and thus create a sense of common knowledge and heritage. The commonalities between writers and readers that the magazines generated also played out around gender expectations. While writing could be a full-time career, it was more often than not treated as a secondary occupation for women. In comparison, male authors like Louis Arthur Cunningham were identified only by their nationality and their geographic location, thus leaving them out of the intimate intermingling of private life and authorship that played out around women writers. Gender roles, nationhood, and literature, then, were fused together through the construction of authorship, with questions of national identity and domesticity emerging, as I explore in the following section, in the fiction itself.

Attracting Readers and Sustaining Writers: The Importance of Fiction

In Chapter Three, I take up the relationship between fiction and the nation as it played out in the treatment that fiction received in the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*. In particular, I consider the significance that the magazines attached to Canadian authorship and location, and the reasons behind the neglect of mass-market magazine literature from Canada's literary history. For the moment, however, I would only like to review a few key points regarding the importance—to publishers, to readers, and to authors—of the fiction that *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* published in the 1930s and 1940s. To begin with, the attention that the magazines' publishers paid to fiction in terms of its placement in the magazine and its visual appeal suggest that fiction was the most important feature of both magazines. In the June 1932 issue of *Chatelaine*, for example, ten of the first eighteen pages were devoted to fiction. (Of the other eight pages, three were dedicated to feature articles, one to Sanders' editorial, and four to advertisements.) These early pages were arranged in double-page spreads consisting of the story's title and author printed in a large typeface, the opening paragraphs of the story, a colourful illustration that portrayed a scene from the story, and a line or two of text—usually dialogue—that appeared beneath the illustration. All of these details were designed to create the atmosphere of a given story and to spark the readers' immediate interest. The story "Trial by Thunder" by Melanie Benet, for instance, was about the romantic consequences of a disastrous picnic undertaken by four individuals on an otherwise dull afternoon. Beneath a drawing of an elegant foursome, a line of text read:

> Heat blazed from the shining surface of the lake, and hung heavy and scented in the pines, as the four of them lounged on the verandah. "I feel myself growing stubborn about this picnic—marvellous test of character, a picnic," said Isabel with a sudden flash of malice. (15)

The combination of a sumptuous image, the mention of the picnic, and the emotional tension implied by Isabel's "test of character" and "flash of malice" are all meant to attract the readers' eye and pull her immediately into the story (see Figure 1).[8] The *Journal*'s treatment of fiction followed the same pattern. In the August 1940 issue, for instance, eleven of the first fifteen pages of the issue were devoted to fiction. (Of the other four, two and a half pages were given to Lawrence's editorial and feature articles, while one and half pages were used for advertising.) The page design was the same, with the double-page layout of Cunningham's "Light Was Her Laughter," for example, leading the readers' eye from an image in the top left-hand corner to one in the lower right-hand corner in a way that follows the story's trajectory (see Figure 2). The prominence of the fiction pages so early in the magazine, as well as the design of these pages, suggest that the magazines' publishers understood fiction to be a highly attractive feature to readers.

Readers, in their letters, concurred. I take up different facets of readers' responses to the fiction as they were expressed through letters from readers to *Chatelaine* in Chapters Two, Three, and Four, but it is worth noting here that short stories, such as Clara G. Turner's "Family Style" (*Chatelaine* 1934) won the admiration of many readers, while Beryl Grey's "The Black Siberians" (*Chatelaine* 1934) sparked an intense debate about the culture and geography of British Columbia. Such discussions demonstrate that fiction not only attracted readers, but also provoked them to read critically and articulate their thoughts in writing. While fiction was evidently important to readers, the publication of mass-market magazine fiction was fundamental to authors. As Louis Arthur Cunningham's discussion of his writing career makes clear, magazines were instrumental in sustaining authors throughout the Depression and the War. At the same time, internationally successful authors such as Mazo de la Roche, as well as Martha Ostenso and L.M. Montgomery, chose to publish work in both magazines. Their respective decisions to contribute short stories and serials to *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* suggests that these authors considered both magazines a viable means of reaching their audience and a respectable venue for publication. It is crucial, then, to understand the role of mass-market magazine fiction in Canada's literary history; it is equally crucial to explore what the fiction itself communicates about Canada and Canadian culture, as these elements were central to the stories that unfolded on the pages of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*.

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[8] Because of the fragility of early issues of *Chatelaine*, the images used here were copied from microfilm rather than the printed copies of the magazines, and the bright colors of the original image are therefore lost in this copy.

Better Living: Personal Progress as National Progress

Throughout the Depression and the Second World War, the fiction printed in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* was filled with representations of new Canadians who had emigrated from Europe to Canada in the hope of building a better life for themselves. For these characters, a better life was achieved through a mixture of determination, hard work, and, above all, a willingness to embrace Canada as one's new homeland while letting go of one's heritage. Immigration, then, was granted two symbolic purposes in the fiction's treatment of Canadian identity. First, immigration gave Canadian citizens the common bond of a shared experience; second, it gave newly-arrived Canadians a "blank slate," as they broke with their past and worked to formulate an identity that was suited to their new social, cultural, and geographical environment. Notably, the representation of immigration experiences excluded non-European immigrants as well as First Nations people. The explanation for this exclusion lies in the type of audience that the publishers of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*—as well as the advertisers who purchased advertising space in the magazines and thereby kept them in print—wished to attract.

The most desirable audience was an audience with disposable income to spend on consumer goods, and the readers most likely to fall into this category during the Depression and the Second World War were largely British, or at the very least European, in origin.

The economic stratification of the Canadian audience in this way is not coincidental. From the turn of the twentieth century to the beginning of the Depression, the Canadian government actively recruited immigrants in an effort to populate western Canada. Immigration policies placed different nationalities in a hierarchy, with British immigrants being the most preferable, followed by northern and western Europeans, then by eastern and southern Europeans; Jews, Asians, and Africans were ranked as undesirable. Within Canada itself, non-British immigrants, First Nations people, and Canadian-born individuals with non-European backgrounds faced varying degrees of racism that affected their employment, mobility, and social acceptance. While it is certainly not my purpose here to fully explore the complex problems of race and ethnicity in Canada during the 1930s and 1940s, it is important to recognize that the production of Canadian mass-market magazines was influenced by racial politics.

In their need to cater to a relatively affluent audience, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, not to mention the other mass-market magazines of the era, participated in a politics of exclusion as they recruited their own desirable nation of readers. The fact that the target audience of the magazines consisted largely of British or western European immigrants—the most privileged groups within Canadian society—meant that the magazines were in collusion with the economic disparities that resulted from racism. This collusion took the form of an absence rather than a presence; that is, the magazines did not encourage racist attitudes in their readers nor did they adopt an overtly racist stance to any given ethnicity. Instead, the magazines simply excluded non-white, non-English-speaking Canadians from their pages and avoided the question of racial politics as a topic of discussion. *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, then, can be understood as responding to racialized economic stratification in Canada by targeting the most privileged class of Canadians as their audience. In doing so, the fiction that they published represented this audience to itself as Canadian—that is, as white, English-speaking, and middle class (or striving to become middle class). Further to this, the pursuit of a comfortable, secure, or even affluent lifestyle are figured as key desires that defined the quest for a better life in Canada. Canada, in turn, was portrayed as a nation that offered opportunities and rewards to those who were willing to work for them. That said, the fiction typically pulled away from a completely individualistic, success-seeking image of Canadians, positioning community-building as equally elemental to the Canadian way of life. As I explore in the following discussion of three works of fiction—“Spring Always Comes” by F. Marjorie Jordan, “The Furrow” by John E. Nixon, and “The Thunder of New Wings” by Mazo de la Roche—immigrants who came to Canada and successfully integrated themselves into the nation were also expected to contribute to the nation in ways that made their own individual desires secondary to the needs of their local communities. These communities, in turn, were figured as small pieces that, as a whole, made up a unified Canadian nation. The fiction of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* thus reveals the ways in which their definition of Canadian identity was interwoven with representations of immigration, the cultivation of an audience that was white and middle class, and the commercial demands of staying in print.

With these things in mind, I now turn to “Spring Always Comes” by F. Marjorie Jordan. The short story, which appeared in the August 1940 issue of the *Journal*, is about the Brenzova family. They escaped from Czechoslovakia just before the beginning of the Second World War. The story takes place in one day, yet it encapsulates the key events of the family’s past and their hopes for the future. Thematically, it rather didactically presents the expectations imposed on immigrants wishing to create a life for themselves in Canada. These expectations include a rather individualistic work ethic and a willingness to surrender one’s heritage in order to become fully Canadian. To be fully Canadian, according to the story, is to be English-speaking, self-reliant, and perpetually engaged in building a better life for oneself. That said, the story also pinpoints a tension between the individualistic desire for self-improvement and the expectation that one contribute to one’s community. In this way, individual accomplishment is granted meaning as not only an element of Canadian identity, but also as a means of contributing to strengthening the Canadian nation by building communities.

The Brenzova family consists of three people—Marika (the narrator, wife, and mother), Andrej (her husband) and Jan (their seven-year-old son). The story hints at their former wealth in Czechoslovakia, noting that Marika spent hours playing the piano and that she had a British governess who taught her to speak English when she was young; Andrej, for his part, was a successful businessman. In their departure for Canada, the Brenzovas were forced to give up their wealth and social status in the hope of finding both security and freedom in Canada. In the face of these losses, they have worked hard on the farm that is now their home, and they have been able to save enough money to pay for this farmland and two horses. After providing this brief family history as it was informed by the events of the Second World War, Jordan shifts the focus of the story to the events of one spring day. It is the day on which the Brenzovas plan to take their savings to the bank to purchase their land and horses, an act that symbolizes both their permanent residency in Canada and, in turn, the finality of their break with their Czechoslovakian heritage.

The pivotal nature of the day causes Marika to reflect on the trauma of immigration as it is mingled with her hopes for a future in Canada. Watching the sunrise, she thinks:

> No longer need she say, sternly [to herself]: "I will not think of that," in fear that deep, nostalgic longing for Czechoslovakia would leave her weak and despairing. For, in wonder and strange peace, the day had come when she could look upon all that had passed, and be strong. […] It was because the new world about her had miraculously become very dear, and as full of warmth and sunlight as a spring day, breaking upon the grey chill of winter. (8)

These reflections tie together Marika's frame of mind and the Canadian landscape as a series of transitions through which she, as an immigrant, has integrated herself into her new country. While her memories of Czechoslovakia once left her "weak and despairing," she realizes that her nostalgia for her homeland has lessened. In its place, she accepts the "new world" as her own, realizing that it has become "very dear" to her. Not coincidentally, her previous despair is symbolized by the harsh Canadian winter, while her feeling of strength emerges with the arrival of spring. In this way, Marika's reflections mark her connection to the physical geography of Canada, thus connecting her personal identity to the land in which she is immersed. Canada, through this connection, is set out as a nation with the power to heal and strengthen its new immigrants, yet this healing requires that immigrants psychologically break with their past and the heritage that infused that past.

Jordan marks the Brenzova's separation from their heritage through the figure of Marika's son, Jan. As he joins her outside on the spring morning, Marika considers how healthy and happy he appears to be, and she credits Canada for her son's well-being. In her words:

> less than a year ago he had been white and frail and silent, bewildered through all the suspense and strain of their escape. Now he was a sturdy little boy, loving the farm…shouting and laughing…*Canada had done this for Jan!* (8).

As with Marika, Canada has strengthened Jan, yet this strength exacts a cultural price. Jan remembers little of Czechoslovakia or of the Slovakian language. In this sense, he is fundamentally cut off from his family's past. Yet, Marika feels satisfaction in knowing that her son "did not speak in Slovak … already he was a little Canadian" (8). To be a Canadian is, in her eyes, far better than being Czechoslovakian, and the story suggests that one cannot be both. Immigration, then, entails an assimilation into the mainstream Anglophone culture. Indeed, Marika is grateful for her knowledge of English because it has made her integration into Canada much easier than it otherwise might have been. Jan, as a child, also symbolizes the future, and his status as "a little Canadian" suggest that Canadian identity hinges on a privileging of the future over the past. To put it another way, Jordan presents Marika Brenzova's vision of a prosperous and safe future for their son, and her acceptance that he is no longer Slovak but Canadian, as the defining qualities that make her and her family successful immigrants to Canada.

Integration into their new nation, however, demands more than this psychological transition from new citizens. Marika's daily life has been a series of trials since she and her family have arrived on their farm, and she is well aware of the psychological and physical strain that have gone into their adaptation to Canadian life. According to Marika:

> Because they had worked hard and been brave, spring had come for them. There was money to buy the horses, to pay on the land, and some day… if she worked hard enough, there would be money for a piano. (8)

The passage baldly states the prerequisites for immigrants who wish for a better life—courage and hard work. In this sense, "Spring Always Comes" is a didactic story that outlined the expectations placed upon new immigrants while simultaneously stressing the rewards of meeting those expectations. Significantly, the passage leads up to Marika's hope that in the future she will be able to afford the cultural luxury of a piano. Such an acquisition would symbolize the Brenzova's achievement of a degree of social and economic stature, yet Jordan is careful to detail the toll that such an achievement can take. This toll, for Marika, is taken through her hands, which had been damaged by her work on the farm. Where her hands were once soft and dexterous, they are now calloused and sore, and she is not even certain she will be able to play the piano if they are able to purchase one in the future. As a result, the piano takes out a doubly symbolic value, as it comes to represent not only Marika's vision of the future, but also the sacrifices that she and her family are making for that future.

The ability to improve one's living conditions through one's own efforts, then, is set out as the defining feature of Canadian life. To this end, "Spring Always Comes" shows the Brenzovas working towards the accoutrements of a middle-class existence, such as a piano, and this work and hope defines their sense of selfhood and purpose in Canada. Indeed, Marika envisions Canada as the of future prosperity and happiness for her family:

> She could see the new warm shining house down by the elms […]. There would be deep, colorful chairs, one on each side of a fire, where they would sit together … Marika stood still, the sunlight streaming in on the dish of butter in her hands … but above all else, far more to be treasured than a luxurious world such as they had known in Bratislava, there would be the happiness that comes with freedom. (9)

In this passage, Marika not only privileges Canada over her European past, she also sets out the Canadian nation as essentially defined by what might be considered the intangible ideal of "freedom." Jordan, however, makes the loosely defined concept of "freedom" into a tangible set of rules in her treatment of the Brenzovas. "Freedom" for them is a combination of security from ideological conflict and the violence of the War and the willingness to work constantly to improve their circumstances.

This improvement will be more fully realized, in Marika's view, when she, Andrej, and Jan go into town to pay for their land and horses. When they arrive in town, however, the bank is closed and the horse dealer is away. The family returns home disappointed and finds that one of their neighbours, a fellow Czechoslovakian refugee named Stephen, has collapsed on the road leading to their farmhouse. The Brenzovas take him to their home and revive him, after which he explains that both his house and his tobacco crop have burned down in a fire. Without the crop, he will have no money to bring his wife Katya, who has barely escaped Poland and who is now staying in England, to join him in Canada. Marika imagines Katya, "trapped by the invasion. All alone, her flight to Hungary had been futile. For months, Poland's agony had been hers" (18). Marika concludes that Stephen needs her family's savings more than they do. By making this decision, she becomes a heroic figure, yet her heroism is not tinged with yet another element of self-sacrifice; rather, the decision is a celebration of how good Canada has been to the Brenzovas and an expression of Marika's faith that Canada will continue to give her family the means to provide for themselves in the future. Marika's final words" Spring will come again for us!" affirm her desire for a future in Canada and her assurance that the future will be a prosperous one.

Marika's decision signals two key ideas. First, "Spring Always Comes" is a tale of individual accomplishment and; second, the value of that accomplishment ultimately lies in its power to contribute to building a community. Faced with the dilemma of furthering their own gain or strengthening their ties to with other new immigrants to Canada, the Brenzovas choose to aid a member of their community. "Spring Always Comes" is thus a story that sets up Canada as an ideal place, yet Canada is also a work-in-progress that is only as good as its citizens. By setting a out tension between individualistic self-improvement and the sharing of prosperity, and by having the Brenzova share the money they have earned, Jordan privileges community-building over individualism. Indeed, the community becomes the backdrop that makes the efforts of the Brenzovas meaningful, as it is this community that gives them the chance to counter-act some of the effects of the War in Europe and express their love for, and dedication to, their new country.

John E. Nixon's short story, which immediately followed "Spring Always Comes" in the August 1940 issue of the *Journal*, picks up on similar themes. The story consists of an elderly farmer, John Masters, looking over his fields and reflecting on his life. Like "Spring Always Comes," Nixon's story encompasses the personal history of one individual within the space of a day and considers the significance of that history in relation to nationhood. Importantly, the story was set up as a story with a "message for all Canadians" (12) through an editorial blurb that appeared below the title. That message is stated quite clearly in the second paragraph, as John reflects on his arrival with his wife Ellen "out west" in the late 1800s. He recalls standing at the end of a newly-cultivated field and thinking to himself:

> And all this was his own. He was becoming used to that thought, yet it held more than the pride of ownership. He had felt that at first; but by now he was beginning to realize a sort of responsibility to the vast land of which he owned a portion. It was his to use but not misuse, and because it had been entrusted to him he felt that he owed it all the best of which he was capable. (12)

Canada, in this passage, exists as a geographic entity that individuals own a share of, and this ownership entails responsibility to the land itself that mitigates rampant self-interest. As a result, John's work as a farmer derives is significance not so much from the quality of life that he can create for himself and his family, but from the ways in which his family life and farm work are intertwined with the community and geography of which he is a small part.

As he pursues this theme, Nixon negotiates between the private life of the Masters family and the course of both local and national history. He begins by reviewing how the building up of John's homestead farm runs parallel to the development of John's local community. One day, for example, John watches his young son and daughter play in the field in springtime and thinks:

> There was a fine, new house; and the little sod stable had given place to a large, round-roofed barn, while tall trees now grew about the farmstead that had looked so bleak and unsheltered long ago. The country was no longer open and sparsely inhabited. Everywhere were roads and fences of cultivated fields. On the horizon he could see the dark silhouette of the grain elevators. With all this progress Masters felt himself to be an integral part, and found deep satisfaction in that knowledge. In no small measure it fulfilled the ambition he had cherished from the beginning—to build a home and to help to the utmost in the establishment of a united community. (13)

In this instance, the domestic, private home is both in harmony with a broader community life and the foundation of that life. At the same time, the goal of settling the prairie provinces that had been important to Canadian national development early in the century has been realized through the efforts of individuals who have benefited personally from nation-building. The relationship between individuality and nationhood is thereby taken to be a reciprocal, mutually beneficial relationship in "The Furrow."

The demands of war signal the malevolent side of nationalism, yet "The Furrow" resists engaging with this malevolence in its treatment of the First World War. Instead, John recalls receiving the telegram telling of his son's death overseas. The telegram was personally delivered by a neighbour that John has known for years, and the neighbour stands by in silent grief as John reads the telegram. In this way, the tragedy of John's son's death is shared by the community in a way that somewhat lessens the pain for the Masters family. Nixon then moves rapidly into a vision of generational continuity within the family by relating that John's daughter married soon after the end of the War, and that she named her first child John in memory of her brother. The narrative thus glosses over the trauma inflicted on the family by the national demands of the War; moreover, it treats the family as a marker of the nation's continued existence in a way that suggests that peaceful domestic life is the essence of the nation.

At the close of the story, John walks towards his house, now filled with his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. He takes one last look over the fields, seeing how "the furrow rose like a path up the slope of the field. It reappeared on the succeeding ridge and seemed to lead on to the infinite horizon" (18). By juxtaposing the thoughts of an elderly man whose life is drawing to a close with "the infinite horizon" of the land to which he has devoted his life, the story suggests that the significance of his life lies in the things he has worked to build: his home, his family, and his country. In this way, "The Furrow" ties together the home and the nation and positions the home as the foundation of national life while making national life the broader community that defines the importance and meaning of domestic activity.

"The Thunder of New Wings," by Mazo de la Roche, takes a decidedly different approach to Nixon and Jordan's respective treatment of individuality, nationhood, and immigration. A lengthy and complex serial mixing elements of romance and family saga, "The Thunder of New Wings" begins by tracing the emigration of three young women—the English sisters Vicky and Theo, and their Canadian-born cousin, Joan, who narrates the story—from England to Nova Scotia. The women leave England because they have been disinherited from their ancestral home in Cornwall; they move to Nova Scotia because Theo has inherited some land and a cottage there. Once they are settled in Nova Scotia, Vicky meets and marries a man named Patrick Baldry, who is the only character other than Joan who was born in Canada. As the story progresses, Vicky and Theo learn that their father, Richard Lashbrook, secretly married a French-Canadian woman only to abandon her; she subsequently died giving birth to their son, Toby. Vicky determines to take Toby, who is now eighteen years old, to Cornwall with her. Theo, Joan, and Patrick follow Vicky back to England, where Vicky uses Toby to reclaim her ancestral home in England, as Toby is the legitimate heir to that home. After Toby is established as the owner of the estate, however, he refuses to adopt English mannerisms and he sells his ancestral property to invest in capitalistic enterprises. Vicky is horrified, and she realizes that she, her sister, and her cousin have been outcast from their home in another way. Patrick Baldry, frustrated with Vicky's obsession with Toby, realizes that he will always be second-place to Vicky's ancestry. He leaves her to return to Canada. Attempting to reconcile with Vicky and Theo, Toby offers to take his half-sisters out on his new yacht. A squall comes in all except for Joan, who has stayed behind, drown at sea. Joan decides to leave England to return to Canada, where she re-unites with Patrick. They marry and live out their lives peacefully in Quebec, with Patrick working as a civil engineer who literally builds up his home country and Joan writing her tale of life in England and Canada.

In its treatment of immigration, “The Thunder of New Wings” traces a relationship between Canada and its imperial progenitor, England. In doing so, de la Roche blurs the differences between the geography and culture of the two countries by treating them as fundamentally the same. Language, as with “Spring Always Comes,” is a central factor in the quality of life of the new immigrants. Given that Vicky and Theo are English, they assimilate easily into the linguistic world of their new community in Nova Scotia. The linguistic bond between Canada and England also plays out over the reading practices of all three women. Avid readers of novels and magazines, Vicky, Theo, and Joan bring a library of English novels and history books with them from Cornwall to Nova Scotia to serve as the foundation of their library in their new country. The result is that the three women reconstruct the English literary tradition in their new home, making their existence in Canada culturally continuous with their existence in England while preventing the possibility of any uniquely Canadian stories from being formulated. At the same time, the three women adopt social activities that are similar to the ones they undertook Cornwall. Vicky’s marriage to Patrick Baldry, an engineer by training who, in the absence of work in his field, has become the mayor of the Nova Scotian town of Balmeny, places Vicky at the top of the town’s social hierarchy. All three women also attend the Anglican church and go on picnics with the minister and his wife and child and, as noted, they read books imported from England. They thus circulate with the highest class of people in the little Nova Scotia community, practice the same religion that they had in England, and maintain the same cultural tastes. Even the design of their “cottage” turns out to be very similar to their house in England. Where the women expect a “primitive new-world sanctuary” (July 1932 13), the new world defies their expectations, ironically enough, with its old-world quality: their new home is “beautiful” and “grand” (July 1932 13), built of grey stones and surrounded by lush gardens, all of which resembles their home in England. The result of all of these similarities is a blurred distinction between the two nations that permits the women to carry on living as if they are in England. In doing so, they reject Canada as a "new" nation, causing "The Thunder of New Wings" to treat Canada as essentially the same as England.

These similarities are present in de la Roche's representation of the land itself. The landscape of Nova Scotia, for instance, serves as a mirror-image of Cornwall, with Joan's description of her first walks in each country vividly linking the two spaces. Of Cornwall, Joan recollects:

> Never could I forget my first adventuring into those exuberant wilds, a little black-frocked child fresh from Canada; Vicky and Theo like sprites, leading me from one wonder to another, till, last of all, we had descended a grassy slope, gay with sea-pinks, and had danced, hand in hand, filled with fierce gladness, across the virgin sands. (June 32 8)

Of Nova Scotia, she says:

> I heard the deep sighing of Fundy, and a briny breeze stirred the damp hair on my forehead. Coarse sea grass grew in tufts in the roadway, and almost covered a rusty harrow lying sunk in the ditch. But on either hand a field of late clover grew, strong and green. The tide was in. The road ended on a stony ridge thrown up by the sea and hiding it. I could hear the thunder of the stones rattling down the other side with each receding wave. I scrambled to the top, and gazed down at the green, heaving sea that, like some petulant giant, hurled those great stones up the ridge, again and again, till they were worn to satin smoothness, and, among them wound stained and brightly colored lengths of seaweed, great strips of kelp red as rubber, tasseled sea moss that rattled like castanets. (July 32 43-44)

Cornwall and Nova Scotia both have a wild, dangerous beauty to them. In this sense, de la Roche's treatment of Canada is markedly different from that of Jordan and Nixon. Where the land in those stories yields a living to those who work hard, the landscape in "The Thunder of New Wings" is untamed. Furthermore, Theo, Vicky, and Joan are free of the responsibility to the land that Nixon discusses, as their relative wealth ensures that they can live comfortably in their cottage without interacting much with the landscape. In this way, they keep themselves fundamentally divorced from the country to which they have come, choosing to live a social and cultural life that is both imported from elsewhere and separated from the rigors of the landscape with which the characters in Jordan and Nixon's stories must cope. This division between the landscape and the ways in which the women live prefigures their eventual departure from the country. Vicky elects to bring Theo and Joan back to England at the first chance they have to reclaim their previous home, thereby rejecting Canada as a new homeland. She is, then, an unsuccessful immigrant in that she is unable to let go of her past—as Marika does—or build a community and a future—as both the Brenzovas and the Masters do.

In contrast, Patrick Baldry is a prominent member of his small community whose work as mayor is designed to strengthen that community. Joan, upon returning to Canada after the death of her cousins, embraces Canada as her new home. Notably, neither Patrick nor Joan are truly immigrants, as they were both born in the Dominion, yet their decision to turn away from British culture signals a need to break with the past that is similar to Marika's need to forget about Czechoslovakia. Indeed, Britain has become a site of trauma for Joan, and her immersion in Canada helps her to recover from the events in Cornwall. Patrick, for his part, finds work as an engineer, positioning him as a creative entity in Canada. Joan, too, takes on a creative quality once she settles permanently in Canada. She is, ostensibly, the author of "The Thunder of New Wings," making her a Canadian author whose tale is written in the home she shares with Patrick, thus replacing the now-absent library that once belonged to Theo and Vicky. At the conclusion of the story, then, de la Roche positions Patrick and Joan as individuals who contribute to their nation through architecture and literature; in turn, they find peace and happiness in their new home.

Taken together, "Spring Always Comes," "The Furrow," and "The Thunder of New Wings" take up immigration and the integration of new Canadians into the nation as their central themes. The trauma of immigration is acknowledged in "Spring Always Comes," but the story suggests that the chance for a better life and a prosperous future makes the sacrifice of one's heritage worthwhile. At the same time, the story outlines a set of principles for succeeding in Canada. These principles include hard work and an individualistic desire to improve one's life, yet F. Marjorie Jordan makes this desire secondary in importance to community-building and the need for individuals to help one another. In this way, she constructs Canada as a nation that balances individual self-improvement against communal needs. Similarly, the character John Masters reflects on his family's place within his community, as he feels that the meaning of his life is grounded in the hard work that he has done to provide for his family and strengthen his community. While the nation enters the story as a malevolent force in "The Furrow," John E. Nixon's treatment of the War glosses over the dangers of nationalism in favour of presenting domestic felicity as the essential and stable foundation of national life. Such domestic felicity, which runs throughout "The Furrow," is not achieved until the very end of "The Thunder of New Wings." The refusal of Vicky Lashbrook to accept Canada as a new homeland causes her to destroy herself, her sister, and her half-brother as she attempts to reclaim her British heritage. In contrast, her cousin Joan fully accepts Canada as her homeland at the end of the story. In tandem with this acceptance, Joan builds a private home with Patrick Baldry, thus finding a source of happiness and stability in Canada that she lacked in her life with Vicky and Theo. This importance of the private home, as I explore in the following section, was central to not only narratives of immigration, but also to narratives about Canadian-born citizens whose lives made of the many facets of Canadian life that *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* sought to represent in the fiction they published.

Uniting Regional Diversity through Domestic Harmony

The fiction of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* suggest that the magazines' producers wished to educate readers into the diverse elements of Canada's different regions and, in turn, bring these elements together by imagining them as a national community whose foundation was the home and family. In order to explore these themes as they were worked out through the fiction, I take up two stories that appeared in the June 1932 issue of *Chatelaine* and one serial instalment that appeared in the August 1940 issue of the *Journal*. These stories are "Trial by Thunder" by Melanie Benet, which focused on the middle-class comforts of home in Quebec, "Pyjamas" by Eva L. Bruce, which dealt with the desire for self-improvement in a mining town, and "Light Was Her Laughter" by Louis Arthur Cunningham, which navigated between the rural lifestyle of the Acadian coast and the high culture of Quebec City in tracing the romance of two individuals set on the path to fame and fortune through their respective abilities to represent Canada. Each of these stories clearly takes up a different element of Canada's regional diversity. Yet, taken together, they construct a unified national identity that is grounded in the home. At the same time, the stories take the desire for self-improvement and upward mobility as key themes in Canadian life, causing them to resonate with the narratives of immigration. The difference is that these stories focused on individuals whose families had already been settled in Canada for more than two generations and were therefore seen as fully Canadian by birth and experience. In the case of "Trial by Thunder" and "Light Was Her Laughter," the characters (or their families) have already achieved the comfortable and secure lifestyle that Marika Brenzova and the Masters family work towards. They represent, then, an idealized view of Canadian life in which domestic harmony feeds into national harmony, and the principles of self-improvement and community-building continue to underwrite Canadian identity.

"Trial by Thunder" is a romance about Isabel, a forty-year old woman from Quebec who has been independently wealthy since birth. She returns to her family after ten years of capricious wandering in Europe. Over the course of a weekend at her family's vacation home, Isabel, her niece Amy, Amy's fiancé Evan, and Amy's friend Bill drive into the countryside for a walking trip and picnic. They get caught in a thunderstorm and take refuge in the home of a farming family. During their overnight stay with the family, Isabel makes Amy realize that she should marry Bill, who is a businessman in his early twenties, rather than Evan, who is a piano composer in his forties. Although Evan is initially angry at being rejected by Amy, by the time the foursome return home in Bill's car, he concludes—with a little prompting from Isabel—that the cultivated, well-travelled, and well-read Isabel is a better match for him. In this way, the story traces two romances as they take place within the context of an economically elevated lifestyle that is treated as the ideal backdrop for such romance. Interestingly, the exact location of the story is not given. Instead, Benet relies on references to the French accents of the farming family and the fact that Bill works in Montreal as the only indications of the setting, thereby leaving the homes and countryside open to being imagined as any place the reader chooses while simultaneously grounding that imagining within the province of Quebec. At the same time, the majority of description devoted to setting focuses on the home itself, thereby privileging the internal world of the domestic sphere over the external landscape. In this way, "Trial by Thunder" treats the home as a universal category that fits into the regional descriptions in a way that makes regional diversity simultaneously unique and universal.

Told from Isabel's point of view, the story begins with Isabel's reflections on her return to her family after her European travels. Her response to their domestic life is intermingled with her perceptions of the natural landscape:

> Heat blazed from the shining surface of the lake and hung heavy and scented in the pines. Towers and battlements of white cloud were piling up behind the far hills. Across the wide verandah, with its grey wicker chairs and boxes filled with pink petunias, the shade of tall trees lay pleasantly. Strange to be home again, to be accepted after ten long years as though her idle wanderings had never been. Isabel, relaxed among the chintz cushions, watched the others with affectionate, if faintly malicious, amusement. (14)

She observes that her married older sister, who has two grown children, is stouter and more aged than she is. They all dress in silk and spend most of their spare time attending tea parties, playing music, and reading. Isabel, bored on this particular afternoon, suggests that she, Amy, Bill, and Evan, go on a daytrip in the nearby mountains, yet she verbalizes this in a genteel fashion, calling for "tea at the summit" (14). The four characters subsequently drive to the start of a trail leading to the top of a mountain in Bill's "excellent roadster" (14) with a meal packed by the household's cook. The lifestyle of Isabel's family, then, is unabashedly well-to-do, with servants, cars, and silk clothing constituting the markers of their economic and social status. Moreover, they have the leisure time to indulge in viewing the countryside from the verandah or venturing into it for a picnic.

At first, the countryside that they venture into appears idyllic, as Isabel notices that "the air was sweetly fresh in the rush of their passage, laden with smells of hay and clover, the road went deviously among the hills" (14). After walking to the top of the mountain, she thinks:

> Here the world was spread in a wide span, woods and farmland, blue water and rolling hills. To the south and to the east, sunshine was palely glimmering. Behind them, steel-gray and purple, clouds were steadily blotting out the sky, the nearer reaches of the lake were ominously black. (14)

This description contrasts sharply with the working relationship to the land that the characters have in "Spring Always Comes" and "The Furrow." While the land in these pieces is bountiful, cultivating the land it is also demanding. Isabel and her family, in contrast, are able to traverse the landscape without being bound to it. An incoming storm, however, shifts the otherwise pristine landscape into a dangerous place, and the group make their way down a slippery path back to the security of Bill's car. Finding the roads too muddy to drive, they take shelter on the porch of a farmhouse near their car, and the farmer's wife lets them into the security of her home.

At first, the farm woman criticizes Isabel and her group for having "nothing better to do than climb" (15) and her warning that they had better not get her scrubbed floor dirty with mud from the mountains points to a divide between the work of Canada's rural farming class and the frivolous leisure pursuits of wealthy urban society. The farm woman's criticisms cease after Bill introduces Amy, and the farmer's wife realizes that Amy's father is the owner of the land on which she and her family live. Not surprisingly, she becomes much more welcoming, and invites the group to stay overnight. The economic gap between the farming family (the Snibleys) and Isabel's family is subsequently glossed over, as Bill and Amy play with the farmer's children. The household immediately becomes a source of domestic felicity, with everyone in the household gaining an equal footing through the daily practices of family life. In this way, Benet creates a scene of domestic harmony that elides social and cultural differences and unifies urban and rural residents of Canada. As the foursome return to the city, the primacy of domestic life remains central to the idealization of life in Canada, with Isabel predicting that Bill and Amy will marry and have a happy household full of children and material comfort. To Evan, she suggests that the most enjoyable life for two older, independent people like themselves consists of "living in houses where the wheels go round so smoothly you never realize there are any wheels" (36), thus idealizing her own life of leisure and ease.

"Trial by Thunder" thus makes family life an element of essential sameness across individuals and regions within Canada. Whether the home belongs to Isabel's sister, a family of farmers, a newlywed couple, or an older and independently wealthy one, the home offers individuals stability and purpose in life. Further to this, a comparison of "Spring Always Comes" and "Trial by Thunder" shows that the value system that underwrites the two stories is fundamentally the same: in "Spring Always Comes," the characters work to achieve a better life, while in "Trial by Thunder" the characters have already achieved this life. In both cases, the attainment of a comfortable home life mixed with elements of leisure, material comfort, and culture are set out as the Canadian ideal, causing these two very different strands of narrative to be geared towards a vision of Canada that was fundamentally the same.[9]

"Pyjamas," by Eva L. Bruce, serves as a fascinating contrast to "Trial by Thunder." Benet, whose life as a housewife and writer from Westmount, Montreal may well have resembled the affluent ones about which she wrote, was in a very different position from Eva L. Bruce, who lived and wrote in the Alberta mining town of Evansburg. Accordingly, Bruce's story is set in "Coal Town," and the lifestyle there is far from affluent and comfortable. Appearing alongside one another in the same issue of

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[9] The way travel is treated is interesting, too. Immigration in "Spring Always Comes" is a form of travel imposed upon the Brenzovas in their escape from Czechoslovakia. It is also a dangerous undertaking, as Katya's travel through Poland to London suggests. In "Trial by Thunder," Isabel's travels are a choice; they are a reflection of both her geographic and economic mobility. If the lifestyle in "Trial by Thunder" is an ideal, then travel becomes a symbol of having achieved that ideal—it means the characters have the means leave Canada secure in the knowledge that it offers the security of home to which they can return at any time.

Chatelaine, the stories of Benet and Bruce represent two extremes, with Benet's story presenting a neo-genteel, luxurious lifestyle while Bruce's presents a working-class one. That said, the values of the main characters are essentially the same, with marriage and home life serving as the impetus for both stories, and Bruce's character Sarah Billings attempting to bring the comforts and aesthetics of the middle-class life so natural to the characters in "Trial by Thunder" into the otherwise rough existence she shares with her husband, Jake.

The story begins with a description of Sarah's back-breaking work in her home in Coal Town as she bends "over the washtub [and] swept and swirled the bluing water with one searching hand in case a stray handkerchief escaped" (19) and hangs the laundry out to dry in the once "dank and sullen backyard" (19). Through Sarah's efforts, this backyard now has "harassed-looking vegetables green[ing] its sour surface" (19), while the other yards on her street are "littered jungles" (44). These yards, in Sarah's view, reflect the slovenly character of her female neighbours, and her snobbery toward them causes them to hate "Sarah from the first hour of her installation in the company cottage assigned to Jake Billings, Loader," as "her voice, shrill with disgust, had dealt mercilessly with 'the kind of women [who] fling their dishwater off the back step' " (19). Sarah's attitudes are, notably, grounded in the desire to achieve a better quality of life. While this life will never be in line with the ease and luxury portrayed in "Trial by Thunder," Sarah's household tasks echo the idealization of a home in which "the wheels go round smoothly" (Benet 36). Indeed, Sarah keeps her house "neat as a pin" (Bruce 19), filled with good food, and surrounded by a slowly flourishing garden that she has struggled to grow. At the centre of the story is Sarah's personal symbol of a better life: the pyjamas that she gave to Jake as a wedding present.

Sarah considers these pyjamas to be "so genteel a present" (19), and she is disappointed that, in the year they have been married, Jake has refused to wear them even once. He considers them an impractical form of frippery. Despite the fact that the pyjamas have never been worn, Sarah washes them and hangs them out to dry every week as a marker of her household's distinction from the rest of Coal Town. On the day in which the story takes place, a snide comment from her next door neighbour leads

Sarah to believe that Jake has told the whole town about her useless labour washing a pair of clean pyjamas each week, causing her neighbours to mock her for "getting above herself" (42). Jake has not, in fact, done this to Sarah. Rather, the rumour began as a malicious lie, and it happened to hit on the truth. Realizing that Sarah is mortified, Jake wears the pyjamas out on the front porch that night while Coal Town holds a communal bonfire, allowing the whole town to see how "genteel" he is. This provokes their laughter, but Jake does not care because he considers Sarah and his marriage more important than the opinions of the town residents. The story, then, does two things. First, it holds up the gentility that the pyjamas represent as a worthwhile aspiration, as Sarah's strength and hard work are idealized where her neighbours are critiqued as backward, ignorant and cruel. Second, it treats marriage and domestic harmony as the most important elements to building a happy life in that neither Jake nor Sarah care about the opinions of their neighbours so long as their private life is good. Notably, "Pyjamas" contrasts with stories such as "Spring Always Comes" or "Trial by Thunder" because Coal Town never accepts Sarah; the town is not a site of communal harmony. Rather, it remains essentially divided along class lines, with Sarah's middle-class aspirations standing in contradiction to the rest of Coal Town's working-class way of life. In this way, the harsh and relatively impoverished qualities of Coal Town signal both regional and economic disparities in Canada, with Bruce's conclusion suggesting Sarah's desire for self-improvement is the ideal that individuals in even the most working-class communities ought to adopt. At the same time, the absence of creature comforts and leisure has been mitigated in the Billings' household by a loving marriage, with Bruce causing domestic harmony to stand in, as with the other stories, as an elemental aspect of Canadian life in which individuals from all regions and classes could share.

Like "Pyjamas," "Light Was Her Laughter" by Louis Arthur Cunningham presented a mixture of regional representation, class politics, and romantic love. It was a lengthy serial, the second instalment of which appeared in the August 1940 issue. The first instalment introduces Bionde LaCasse, a young Acadian woman who grew up in Nova Scotia. She spent most of her time learning to skate from a Danish master who had moved to Canada to escape the sorrow of his own daughter's death. By the end of the first instalment, Bionde has fallen in love with another Acadian, Guy de Varin, but the instalment ends with their separation, as Guy leaves to study painting in Paris and she is taken to Quebec City by her wealthy aunt and uncle. They wish to claim Bionde for Quebec City's high society, and they conspire to keep Bionde and Guy apart while they find a suitable—that is, a wealthy and cultured—husband for Bionde. It is at this point that the second instalment begins.

Notably, this instalment takes Quebec City itself as a driving force behind the melodramatic plot. The city develops a personality of its own that influences the fate of Bionde and Guy more than Bionde's aunt and uncle. Indeed, Cunningham begins by setting up Bionde as a neo-princess in a fairy-tale city that consists of beautiful architecture and elegant dresses, of drinking champagne and dancing at the Chateau Frontenac. Bionde realizes that the city could easily seduce her and cause her to abandon her Acadian roots. As she walks through it, she looks up, seeing

> its towers and pinnacles, its high-flung bastions and strong old walls touched with beauty by the brassy glintings of the winter sun. [...] The old city put its spell upon her, the spell of its ancient glories, and for awhile she could forget a little the wild windswept land of her birth, down where thundered the mighty tides of Fundy. [...] The Chateau with its hundreds of lighted windows, high above the Lower Town, looked like some enchanted palace. Sleighs with jingling bells passed them by in the street, and crowds of young men and girls carrying skis and snow-shoes. (14-15)

In this way, Cunningham treats Quebec City as a beautiful, even magical, place. It offers Bionde beauty, history, and a multitude of leisure pursuits that her aunt and uncle feel ought to appeal to her. The winter is also celebrated as an aspect of Canadian life to be enjoyed, yet the snow and ice, as it turns out, can be divisive.

As the story progresses, Bionde and Guy are reunited. Bionde, on her way to a ball, sees Guy walking down the street. She abandons the luxury of her cab and dashes across traffic upon seeing Guy for the first time. She creates such a spectacle that the local newspaper reporter photographs her, but she does not notice. She and Guy spend a happy evening together in a café, with Bionde neglecting the elegant party she was supposed to attend. In the morning, Bionde's aunt and uncle are furious to see Bionde and Guy together on the front page of the local newspaper. Bionde does not care; she is determined that her family will not prevent her from marrying for love because they think she ought to marry for money. The snow and ice, however, interfere with her determination far more than her family, as a sheet of ice slides from the roof of an old building and knocks Guy unconscious. He is rushed to the hospital, where he remains unconscious for days. No one knows to contact Bionde; she only knows that she cannot find him. In the meantime, she goes skating near the Chateau on the day of Guy's accident. She is "discovered" by both a skating coach for the Canadian national team and the local media. Once again, her photographs appear again in the newspapers, and she is recruited to compete for Quebec in the national skating competition. By the time she learns of Guy's accident, Bionde is on the fast-track to fame and fortune. Guy, believing that the demands of his career as an artist would interfere with Bionde's skating career if she marries him, ends their relationship at the conclusion of the instalment. Bionde goes on to win the national competition easily, and she is positioned to represent Canada in international competition at the end of the second instalment of the serial.

The Canadian nation, in the form of athletic competition and artistic aspirations, thus define the plot of "Light Was Her Laughter." While these twin elements of athletic and artistic life serve as an effective plot device for spinning out the romance narrative, they are also, in and of themselves, significant themes in Cunningham's portrayal of Canada. Guy, a talented artist, has just returned from studying in Paris because he could not find suitable training to be a painter in Canada. In this way, his career is in keeping with the difficulties that many Canadian artists faced in developing their skills during the 1930s and 1940s. While Maria Tippett argues that "art and music instruction in public and private schools, academies, and conservatories and, indeed, teaching in the home itself were a very important part of the institutional substream underpinning the country's cultural life" (35) during the inter-war period, she does not deny that many artists were drawn to Europe because Canada could not offer them the quality and scope of education that they sought. Cunningham, in writing about Guy's education in Paris, presents a historically accurate view of Canadian art and its relationship to European artistic education; moreover, in writing about Guy's decision to return to Canada, Cunningham presents a staunchly nationalistic attitude towards art and its importance in the development of Canadian culture. Guy, notably, returns to Canada not only to find Bionde, but also because he wishes to paint Canadian portraits in the hope of gaining international recognition for both himself and Canadian art.

Guy's return echoes L.M. Montgomery's treatment of Emily Starr in the Montgomery's trilogy of books *Emily of New Moon*, *Emily Climbs*, and *Emily's Quest*. At the end of *Emily Climbs*, the emerging young female author and protagonist of the novel, Emily Starr, is given the opportunity to live in New York with an older, wiser, and already successful female author. The opportunity appears to be a certain and quick path to authorial success, yet Emily chooses to remain in Prince Edward Island partly because she is convinced that her life there affords unique subject matter for her art, and partly because she believes that she can establish a career for herself without leaving either her family home or her homeland. As Faye Hammill puts it, Emily:

> possesses a strong sense of identity on both regional and national levels, and refuses to submerge it in order to gain entry to the literary critics of the United States. […] The New Moon trilogy highlights the difficulties—particularly for a woman—of writing professionally in a remote colonial village, but it simultaneously affirms the unique inspiration and creative possibilities afforded by Canada. (104)

Louis Arthur Cunningham, a writer from New Brunswick who used his province as the inspiration for many of his stories, appears to have made the same decision. In "Light Was Her Laughter," he further affirms the creative possibilities afforded by Canada through Guy de Varin. Indeed, Cunningham portrays the quality and content of Guy's paintings as inextricably bound to their Canadian content:

> The art-dealer had liked his studies of Acadian life, had written: "You have something here, my friend, that is really worthwhile. It has always puzzled me why our artists go around painting snow and barns and fishing boats when the real history of our country is written in the faces of the people. (19)

The passage suggests that everyday life in Canada is a valid subject for Canadian artists, and that the representation of ordinary Canadian citizens is the most worthwhile aspect of this subject. In a connected, but slightly different fashion, Bionde is configured as a Canadian citizen whose talent as a skater make it possible for her to represent Canada to the world. Cunningham, as the author of this serial, was also generating a form of artistic, national representation that echoed his portrayal of Guy and Bionde. The history of the country was being told, albeit it fictitiously, with the focus of that history squarely on the intricacies of individual lives as they played out in both regional and national contexts. It is fitting, then, that "Light Was Her Laughter" appeared as a serial in the *Journal*, as both the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* overtly dedicated themselves to showing Canadian women to themselves in an effort to construct a national identity through print culture.

To return briefly to the question of regional and economic differences, Cunningham performs the same manoeuvre that Benet and Bruce perform: in his treatment of the conflict between high-class Quebec City and low-class Acadia, he makes the home the site of happiness, thereby reducing the problems of cultural differences and economic inequalities to external factors that are less significant than the happiness made possible through the internal world of the home. As Cunningham remarks in his description of Guy waiting for a visit from Bionde:

> how happy one can be in a garret when one is twenty. Guy de Varin was thinking of the words of Beranger the next morning as he set up his easel in the attic apartment on Ste. Ursule Street above the spot where Bionde had found him the night before. (15)

Bionde's reaction to the garret, and to the idea of living there once they are married, echoes Guy's thoughts:

> She looked around her gravely, she explored the rooms, gazed out at the little dormer windows, touched the green painted walls. "It is a veritable palace of a garret, she said. I shall love it. Here, by this window, I'll sit with my knitting and watch you becoming famous. Here, when you have built [a] great chateau in the

> Laurentians and become the envy of the Royal Academy, we will return and say,
> "It was here that we began long ago, one winter's day. (19)

Her fantasy of the future, and of Guy's future success, is a domestic fantasy that ties in with the idealization of attaining upward mobility through one's dedication to one's work. Importantly, between the luxury and ease of Bionde's lifestyle in Quebec City and the rural existence in Acadia that she recalls, Bionde chooses the middle ground. She envision this middle ground as a happy marriage that begins in a humble garret and moves upward as the couple makes their own way in the world. Significantly, their different artistic abilities leave them poised to represent their country in different ways at the end of the instalment. Such an ending was designed to persuade the reader to follow the tale to its next instalment. At the same time, its unhappy romantic resolution spoke to a tension between personal independence and matrimony that romance stories typically resolved on the side of matrimony.

Taken together, "Trial by Thunder," "Pyjamas," and "Light Was Her Laughter" portray a series of diverse lifestyles and regions as they might exist within Canada. "Trial by Thunder," for instance, moved between the home of a wealthy and elite family in urban Quebec and a farming family in rural Quebec. Rather than suggesting that quality of life for these two families was radically different, Benet suggested that life was essentially the same. She did so by focusing on the emotional side of the households about which she wrote, showing Amy and Bill happily playing with the farmer's children in a way that prefigures their own family life once they return to the city and marry. This idealization of domestic harmony was an important theme throughout the fiction, and it was upheld as both the stable foundation of Canadian life and a fulfilling element of life in Canada of which any Canadian citizen—regardless of location or economic status—could partake. Indeed, domestic happiness is central to Eva L. Bruce's story "Pyjamas," in which Sarah Billings works constantly to create a home that is in line with the middle-class comforts and aesthetics that Isabel takes for granted in "Trial by Thunder." While Sarah never attains a comparable degree of luxury, she does distinguish herself from her working-class community. This distinction comes with a price, as she becomes isolated from her neighbours, but Bruce avoids focusing on this divide. Instead, she insists that a loving marriage and stable home can overcome any problems posed by social and economic disparities.

In keeping with the portrayal of social and economic disparities, Cunningham's story "Light Was Her Laughter" compares the rural existence of Bionde LaCasse as she grew up on the Acadian coast with her pampered existence in Quebec City. As with the first two stories, Cunningham sets out the love relationship between Guy de Varin and Bionde as ultimately more important than their location or financial status as they seek to create a high quality of life for themselves. Cunningham also explores the role of art in the development of the nation by using the Guy's artistic career, and Bionde's artistic-athletic career as a plot device for complicating their romance. Through these two characters, Cunningham suggests that artistic renderings of Canadian people are capable of telling the nation's history and shaping Canadians' sense of identity. At the same time, Bionde is capable of representing her nation through an athletic competition, making her into an icon of Canadian talent that marks the nation's cultural achievement. Moreover, Bionde and Guy will become, fictitiously at least, part of Canada's heritage through their contributions to its cultural life. Such cultural contributions were at the core of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* as the magazines circulated fiction that could artistically represent various facets of Canadian life to readers. The fiction, then, was continually engaged in mapping out national identity by representing Canadians to themselves.

"She has, too, the Nation": Canadian Women and Feature articles

There were two feature articles into the June 1932 issue of *Chatelaine* and two in the August 1940 issue of the *Journal*. They were written by Canadian women, three of whom contributed articles as freelance writers; the fourth was written by Alice Harriet Parsons, who wrote for the *Journal* from 1936 to 1940. The topics of the articles were Canadian, as the authors worked to show Canadian women to themselves and, at times, discuss the relationship between women and the nation. This relationship also proved important to the identity of the writer as it was constructed in the magazines. In *Chatelaine*, for instance, Sanders presented the authors of feature articles as both Canadians and wives and mothers, with their work as writers being integrated into these two primary identities just as it was in Sanders' introduction of the fiction authors. The significance of female journalists to both the press in Canada and the status of women is explored in Marjory Lang's *Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada 1880-1945*. Many of the journalists that Lang takes up wrote for *Chatelaine* or the *Journal* and, as Lang argues:

> While women in general advanced in civil rights and participation in the arena of public life, the working lives of individual women varied according to class and region and fluctuated in times of national stress, particularly during the two world wars and the Great Depression. Women journalists heralded the breakthroughs women made in the paid workforce and drew attention to the frustrations and injustices women encountered in their work in the home, on the farm, and in the factory. Their columns also charted the migrations of women to Canada, across Canada, and from the country to the city. For all women, including women journalists, an older notion of "separate spheres" still governed their choices and chances in the first half of the twentieth century, even as the range of opportunities considered suitable for women widened. (21-22)

The imperative for women to balance a career in journalism with traditional marital and familial obligations ran throughout *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*'s treatment of women who made the news. Sanders, for example, introduced Isabel Turnbull Dingman, who wrote the article "Equal Rights for Husbands" for the June 1932 issue, with the words:

> Isabel Turnbull Dingman, of London, Ontario, who is responsible for "Equal Rights for Husbands," came out of the West. She was born on the prairies and is a graduate of Manitoba University. Thousands of Westerners knew her through the advice column she conducted under a pen-name on a Western paper—an experience which gave her first-hand knowledge into the human heart and mind. Mrs. Dingman did various kinds of newspaper work, and then married a newspaper man four years ago. She is still glad she did it, and is very proud of her beautiful young daughter. In between domestic duties she does a considerable amount of freelance writing. (16)

Despite the fact that Dingman had made a career for herself in the newspaper business—a realm notorious for being exclusively masculine[10]—Sanders chose to downplay Dingman's involvement in journalism and focusing instead on her domesticity. Her "considerable amount of freelance writing" was portrayed as secondary to her marriage and her "beautiful young daughter." At the same time, Sanders located Dingman's authority as a writer in the same place that she grounded her authority as an editor—"first hand knowledge" of human nature that had been garnered through an immersion in print culture as Dingman read and responded to letters from readers. This apprenticeship in the field was also important to Dingman's perception of her work as a journalist. According to Lang, Dingman was:

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[10] According to Lang, Alice Harriet Parsons, a journalist who contributed feature articles to the Journal, challenged the overarching masculinity of her working world with humour by creating a dubious male journalist as the hero of a potboiler story that she wrote. As Lang puts it, women were seen to "play at the newspaper game, but by and large the tough, cynical, streetwise legman was just that: a man. He might be ill paid, he might be unpolished, but his worldly masculinity was unquestioned. Alice Harriet Parsons knew something of the backstreet beat when she wrote a potboiler story about the press. Parsons had established a reputation for ingenuity as a reporter on the Cleveland Plain Dealer before she returned to Canada. Drawing on her experience but also on stylized stereotypes, in "By-Line" she rehearsed the formulaic image of the journalist whose veins "run with printer's ink." She chose a male protagonist as the vehicle for hoary newspaper lore, enshrining in him the addiction that is supposed to enthrall all journalists—the lure of the front-page scoop. Parsons's hero was in fact a plodder, capable only of police reports, and he got a front-page story only on the day his paper closed in the grip of the Depression. But through all his disappointment, the love of the life of the professional busybody—the conceit that he had his finger on the pulse of the city sustained him" (267).

> a well-educated woman with a Master's degree from the University of Manitoba, [and] she had had a strictly "hands-on" apprenticeship in the newspaper business. Over the course of her long career, Dingman had tried her hand at most departments of the field: general reporter, women's section editor, music and art critic, and syndicated columnist. Thus, she was well qualified to become one of the organizers of the new school of journalism at the University of Western Ontario, which opened in 1948. (107).

Her position as such an organizer was, according to Lang, initially tinged with skepticism over the potential for the "formal teaching of journalism" (107) to be successful, given her own hands-on experience, yet she formed a "belated enthusiasm for professional education [that] was wholehearted, if not without a tinge of self-interest" (107) as the new school got underway.

Sanders paid less attention to the author of the second of three features. The author was Constance Templeton, who contributed an interview with the world's president of the YWCA, Jonkvrouwe Cornelia van Asch van Wyck. Sanders noted only that Templeton lived in Toronto. The third writer to contribute a feature to *Chatelaine* in June 1932 was Luta Munday. She was the opposite of a journalist-turned-freelancer like Dingman in that Munday was a *Chatelaine* subscriber who decided to write an autobiographical piece, thus making the leap from reader to writer in a way that suggested the sincerity of Sanders' ongoing claims to be interested in the lives of readers and her desire to include them in all aspects of the magazine. For this reason, Sanders was careful to emphasize Munday's identity as a Canadian woman whose experiences merited national publication, but who was not a professional writer. In her words:

> Mrs. Luta Munday, who gives you an absorbing story of her northern dogs, lives in Saskatoon. Mrs. Munday is the wife of an RCMP officer, and she has had some thrilling experiences up north. We are planning many articles along this line, from Canadian women, particularly since our recent article "Housekeeping Below Zero" proved one of the most popular that we have ever run. (16)

Munday's inclusion in *Chatelaine* stressed the opportunity that the magazines offered her to articulate her own experience by entering a national print forum. That said, her marriage to an RCMP officer was the defining characteristic of her life, as it determined where and how she lived. As a writer, then, Munday was both unique (because she lived in an unusual location) and ordinary (because she was a married woman, as most *Chatelaine* readers were presumed to be).

Alice Harriet Parsons, who was a regular contributor to the *Journal* throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s, is not introduced to readers in the August 1940 issue, although some of her other contributions received an editorial nod. For example, Tait noted that Parsons' 1938 article "Should Girls be Ladies?" was written in response to the essays written by young women the class "Magazine Article Writing" that Parsons taught through the Department of Extension, University of Toronto. According to Lang:

> Harriet Parsons, who initiated a series of extrasessional writing courses through the University of Toronto, prepared a practical handbook for working women journalists. She assumed that most of her readers would have had no professional schooling: "Chances are that you cut your journalistic teeth in a newspaper office on an editor's blue pencil and never read a book on journalism in your life." Experience in the world, not the ivory tower, was the essential qualification of a journalist. (108)

An Ontario-based writer who supplemented her magazine-writing income with teaching at the University, Parsons' teaching evidently attracted young women interested in writing for magazines and explored the ways in which gender and socially acceptable behaviour were elements of a career as a writer. These concerns, in fact, surface in the two articles that she contributed to the *Journal* in August 1940, the first of which dealt with women's temporary adoption of British children sent to Canada for their safety during the War, and the second of which discussed the support women gave to husbands serving in the War.

The Articles

Luta Munday's article discussed the husky dogs who were her constant companions throughout the fourteen years she had spent living "in the north" (20) with her husband, who was an RCMP officer. He was often away "for weeks at a time on patrol" (20), and she was left alone with the dogs. Her writing marked her sense of isolation, as well as her independence:

> I have lived in districts where there were only two white families; then where the few white people in the country were widely scattered; and later in a land where there were no white people at all, and where, if I had wanted to call upon my next white woman neighbor, I should have had to travel a month, with dogs, to do so. (20)

Importantly, Munday's isolation stems not from her separation from all people, but from white people. The article marks a deep division between herself and the First Nations people around her. The article does not dwell on this aspect of her community. Instead, it takes for granted an unbridgeable difference between herself and non-white people that, in publishing the article, *Chatelaine* upheld as normative. Munday does not disparage First Nations people, and in fact suggests that she has learned how to handle sled dogs from them, noting:

> The natives are expert in the use of [dog] whips, which have a lash about thirty feet in length. [...] The first time I attempted to use it, I actually tied myself up. It coiled round and round me so that I had to be unwound. (39)

Her isolation stems not necessarily from being alone, but from being cut off from white culture, Quite possibly, *Chatelaine* served as Munday's substitute for this culture, as the magazine sought to maintain a feminine, Canadian community that was geared towards white Canadians.

The description of her existence presents the north as "the barren lands," but there is an edge of adventure and independence to her article:

> Driving dogs is always interesting. In the bush country it is more simple, as each dog follows after the other on a trail the width of the sledge. The pace kept is more or less regular, about five miles an hour when the trails are well-beaten, except when the dogs are very fresh and catch a scent. Then they are off without a note of warning like an express train. Often I was upset into a snowdrift or dragged for half a mile before I could stop them. (39)

This was a representation of a life in Canada that was very different from the comfortable life that most other aspects of *Chatelaine* set out, but one that was published in the belief that it would be popular. Munday is independent—she is often separated from her husband—and she is clearly able to take care of herself. The article runs counter to the portrayal of women in such fiction as "Trial by Thunder," but it connects with ideas of wilderness, strength, and independence that come up in "Light Was Her Laughter" and "Pyjamas." Another reason for including the article was that it offered a chance to include a first-hand description of life in the Arctic region of Canada and, as noted previously, *Chatelaine* dedicated itself to representing Canada's regional diversity to its readers. The fact that this piece took up a woman's life markedly different from that of fictitious characters, editors, and the target audience of *Chatelaine* was precisely the point of publishing it.

"Equal Rights for Husbands!" by Isabel Turnbull Dingman returned readers to domestic married life in urban Canada. The article begins by observing that most men do not maintain their friendships with other men after marriage, while women retain their friendships with other women. She seems to sympathize with the alienation of men from their former friends, but turns, eventually, to her main argument: she condemns men for being financially and socially irresponsible if they maintain their pre-marital friendships, making it necessary for women to manage not only the household, but the social circle of the couple. As an example, Dingman cites the story of "Anise," a wife who had been a "good sport" (18) about her husband having a social life that was separate from hers. This arrangement led to her husband drinking and gambling and, eventually, she found herself (and her newborn baby) in a precarious financial situation. Anise had no choice but to cut her husband off from his friends, and she tells Dingman in an interview that she started out her marriage as a "plain, ordinary fool" and that her husband had "taken advantage of her good nature," forcing her to "put her foot down" (49). "Equal Rights for Husbands" concludes that men cannot be trusted to put their family's interests ahead of their own desires, if they were given the freedom to choose between the two, forcing women to keep a tight reign on their husbands.

In making her case, Dingman gestures to the lack of agency that women in Canada had. Once married, women had little direct control over their fate and had to resort to controlling their husbands. The article paints marriage as anything but equal; rather, it is power struggle that women must win if they wish to survive and live comfortably. Female friendships enter this scenario as the true source of happiness in a married woman's life. In this way, the article clashes with the advice columns and advertisements (which I discuss in the next two sections), which portrayed women as happy wives whose happiness in life stemmed from marriage and children. The article also strained against the idea that marriage was a romantic bond—as it was portrayed in the fiction—to focus instead on the ways in which it was an economic bond. Dingman also does not offer any suggestion that the state of modern marriage, or the status of women, required fundamental change; her focus, instead, was on survival strategies, the chief of which was managing the household budget and preventing one's husband from having too much freedom. "Equal Rights for Husbands!" thereby discusses the problems of daily life that many women faced in terms of prescribed gender roles and presents the home as the cornerstone of daily life for women across Canada. In this way, the piece echoes the treatment of the home in fiction, with Dingman's discussion of gender holding up rigidly defined gender expectations as Canadian norms. At the same time, her article posited that married couples had to negotiate the interdependency of those roles if they were to have a stable private life. Women, for their part, were given the responsibility of managing their homes—and, if necessary, their husbands—as a means of maintaining nation-wide domestic and familial stability.

In contrast to this focus on private life, the piece "Leader of a Million Girls," by Constance Templeton, took up women and nationhood in the public and political world as its central focus. Templeton interviewed Jonkvrouwe Cornelia van Asch van Wyck, a Dutch woman who had been elected the world president of the YWCA in 1930. Her position was unsalaried, and the responsibilities encompassed administrative work in Geneva, travel to YWCA centers worldwide, and public speaking engagements. She was in Canada visiting YWCA centers in 1932, and the article noted that she would next be going to the West Coast of Africa to oversee the building of a new centre for education and job training for Bantu women.

The discussion of the YWCA, and van Asch van Wyck's estimation of women, took up the place of women both within the nation and within the international community. Describing the aim of the YWCA as the promotion of "fellowship among all women," regardless of nationality, van Wyck van Asch argued that for women in the 1930s:

> loyalties are wider. She has no longer just to think of herself and her own life and family. She has, too, the nation. And there is something higher than that, I like to think to myself—something of the world, something of all women, a sort of idealism. (18)

She went on to name the quest for peaceful societies around the world as the core of that idealism, noting the women with whom she worked concentrated their energy both within the home and outside of it. In her words:

> Men are the fighters, women the peacemakers. [Women] came into public life really for the first time after the World War. The suffering and sorrow of that time were very fresh in their minds. They have been able to realize, more because they were fresh to such things, the utter futility of it. It was all so useless. And women can say so. With a man, he must be afraid always that people will say, "Oh, yes, he is against war because he is afraid that he will have to go." Women need not fear that. They are not called cowards because they ask for peace. And they have such enthusiasm, too. I think that is the great thing that women have to bring to the world—their enthusiasm for peace. (18)

The article positioned women as national subjects whose social contribution to the world was the generation of international peace. van Asch van Wyck's own work focused on educating women while also providing a social forum through which women were connected internationally at a grassroots level in a way that facilitated community and "fellowship," thus fostering understanding and peace. The article concluded by arguing that the "Y" was:

> a medium for the exchange of ideas among one individual, one class, one nation, and another, working on Christian principles of social and international conduct, "so that justice, love, and unique value of every human life shall apply to national and international as well as personal relations. (18)

This correlates with the values of Canadians as they were defined in "Spring Always Comes" and "The Furrow." It made personal relations important—they could serve as a model for international relations. In this way, women who had been relegated to the "private sphere" of personal relations in the nineteenth century were treated as instrumental to the public sphere on a national and even international scale that left pre-existing gender constructions unchallenged. Rather, the traditional gender expectations for women were made useful to national life.

The ways in which women could be useful to national life were key to Alice Harriet Parsons' articles for the *Journal* in August 1940. She published two articles, the first of which was titled "Shall I take in a Refugee Child?" She opened with the statement that "women all over Canada are asking themselves whether they couldn't take a refugee child into their homes, perhaps several children, during the present emergency facing the British Isles" (11). Parsons, while lauding women for responding to "this big humanitarian job" that called on the "deepest, most generous impulses" (11), cautioned against women committing to taking in refugees without being aware of how demanding such a commitment could be. She noted that refugee children came from diverse backgrounds—"some coming from well-to-do homes, some from very poor; some from cities, some from country districts in the danger zones. There will be children with all sorts of backgrounds, schooling, customs and manners" (11). Canadian families needed to be flexible and open-minded in taking foreign children; they also had to be prepared to deal with the after-effects of the trauma many of the children coming to Canada had suffered. She went on to outline the bureaucratic process in place for bringing children into Canada and matching them with families, urging women to ask themselves if they were financially capable of supporting a new child, if they were willing to provide a refugee child with a home for an indefinite period—"for the duration"—and if they were adaptable in terms of coping with children who "probably won't seem at all sweet and pathetic when they're telling you "We don't do that at home!"—have you a sense of humor?" (27). If the reader were able to make these kinds of commitments, then, she concluded, the reader would be "doing one of the finest services" (27). Parsons therefore set out home management as a means for contributing to the nation during the War. As with the van Asch van Wyck interview, the article upholds the gender expectations for women within the nation, and within an international conflict, in which women served humanitarian interests rather than military ones.

Parsons' second article was called "Hostess House." In it, Parsons explained that Hostess Houses were houses set up near military bases, and that they were designed to assist the wives, girlfriends, and daughters of military personnel when they came to visit. Each house provided a lounge, washrooms, a first aid centre, and an information desk that recommended places at which women could stay when visiting soldiers. The "Hostess House" system was run by the YWCA and modelled on a similar system in place in Britain. One of the first houses set up was near Barrie, Ontario. It assisted 850 female visitors in its first weekend of operation, and the organizers anticipated serving 2000 women each week. The conclusion of the article was a quotation from Mrs. Colerick, "Chairman" of the War Services Committee of the National YWCA, in her report at the recent National YWCA Conference. She said: "It must never be forgotten that behind every man in the army there stands at least one woman and that a most important factor in keeping up the morale of the soldier in camp is the service which also serves his women folk." (qtd. in Parsons 3).

The article, then, kept women informed of military-related structures that might affect them during the War and showcased the work that women undertook to meet the demands of the War. In doing so, the piece suggested the agency of women in building their communities through organizations such as the YWCA and in keeping their families intact despite the separations caused by military demands. Finally, the articles made women central to winning the War, as they were the source of morale among soldiers.

As with fiction authors, Canadian identity was central to the writer's authorial identity. At the same time, work as wives and mothers was an overarching concern in both the writers' lives and in the themes of the articles. The articles concentrated on women's contributions to the nation while maintaining gender norms in spite of the social flux of the post-First World War years and the start of the Second World War. These roles were treated as integral to the creation of peace among nations and, once war broke out, to the maintenance of stability for the nation, security for child refugees, and morale for soldiers. The magazines treated women as national subjects with clearly delineated tasks for serving the nation.

Advice Columns: How to be a Good Canadian

Advice columns both presumed and defined the common social and familial obligations of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*'s female readers in their efforts to suggest ways to meet those obligations. The advice given in the magazines can be broken into three categories: cookery, childcare, and beauty and fashion. Each of these areas asked women to live up to a set of ideal. Ostensibly, meeting these ideals would help them build a better life for themselves and their families. In this way, the advice pages correlated with the fiction and the articles, while the nation, for its part, was situated as the backdrop for domestic responsibilities. Nation-building, as a result, dovetailed with self-improvement as a combined rationale for women to follow the advice given in the magazines. Canadian identity in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* was deeply bound to attaining or maintaining a middle-class way of life, and the advice pages of the magazines showed women how to create this life, on one hand, while delineating the restrictions on women's agency within the nation on the other.

At the heart of both magazines' advice columns were the *Canadian Home Journal*'s Home Service Bureau and *Chatelaine*'s the Chatelaine Institute. They were founded in 1922 and 1930, respectively. Both the Bureau and the Institute were actual houses complete with kitchens, dining rooms, living rooms, bedrooms, and laundry rooms. As the *Journal* described it, the Bureau was "a red-brick house with a broad white veranda and a tall green hedge—just a pleasant home-y sort of house" that stood "in a quiet street in a residential section" of Toronto (Mar. 1934 83). The logic behind this design was straightforward: the research on household management, as it took place in simulated houses, gave it the seal of authenticity. The research completed by both organizations included testing and publishing recipes, testing consumer goods and making recommendations with regard to product purchases, consulting with paediatricians on childcare issues, and soliciting questions on domestic science from readers. These questions, in turn, were researched, and the results were published in question-and-answer portions of the magazines. As Fraser Sutherland points out, the Bureau and the Institute also served as "ways of institutionalizing audience surveys and market research" (161) that gave the publishers ideas on how to cater to their readers while at the same time highlighting which consumer goods and advertisement might lend themselves best to readers' concerns. This commercial side of the Bureau and the Institute were not emphasized; rather, the focus was on listening to readers' problems and providing thoughtful, useful advice. The goal was to make readers feel included in the magazine and important to it. To this end, *Chatelaine* routinely invited women to the Institute for the purpose of discussing contemporary issues. In May 1943, for example, *Chatelaine* ran an article derived from a roundtable discussion that the Institute had hosted. The discussion was about the value of a college education for women, and the participants had consisted of eight young women about to begin college. The roundtable was hosted by then-features editor Lotta Dempsey. A photograph showed the women seated around the Institute's dining-room table with the remark beneath it asking:

> Will there be room in the professions for women after the War? Does the girl who spends her "marrying years" at college lose out in the romance division? What good is the Arts Course as a wage earner? Are fraternities and sororities undemocratic? These were some of the questions that flew back and forth at one of the hottest sessions it has been the editors' privilege to see in the usually peaceful and soothing atmosphere of our Chatelaine Institute. (2)

The Bureau and the Institute thus put themselves in the service of women, aligned themselves with the details of everyday home life, and took up topics thought to be of importance to their readers.

Cookery

Both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* assumed that cooking was a daily task completed by women or, in wealthier households, completed by cooks overseen by the female reader of the magazine. Recipes were tested and recommended, with many recipes being submitted by readers and subsequently published. In this way, readers were included in the making of the magazine, with the two-fold result of drawing different regions together through the knowledge of local fare and of sharing nationally in the task of food preparation as a routine household responsibility. In the August 1940 issue of the *Journal*, for example, printed recipes for "Delicious Uncooked Pickle" from Mrs. E.E. Cranstoun of Calgary, Alberta; "Uncooked Tomato Relish" from Mrs. H. Cowling of Erickson, B.C.; and "Nut and Date Loaf" from Miss Edith McNaugh of St. Catherine, Ontario (34). Katherine Caldwell Bayley, the editor of the cookery section, introduced these recipes by noting that she and her staff read through many submissions each month in search of "something new or specially delightful" (34) to share, and she remarked:

> you are a great help to us when you send us recipes that are particularly characteristic of your own community or your own province. We get a lot of ideas from them—ideas of what people like in different parts of this broad country, and of the kind of products they find available. This aids us in the planning of our whole cookery section. And so we offer you our warm thanks. (34)

Readers also received one dollar in payment for the use of their recipe. They therefore received credit for their contributions in the form of public recognition and financial reward. Further to this, the inclusion of readers in the creation of a very practical section of the magazine generated a sense of personal ownership as the contents were driven, literally, by the tastes of readers.

The August 1940 issue also highlights the ways in which cookery was treated with particular importance at the start of the War. In an article on the importance of Vitamin C, one of Bayley's staff, Helen Gagen, argued that Vitamin C gave one "more energy—a better dental health—better complexion—less nervous irritability—and less constipation with all its attendant ills. Satisfactory though your diet may be in all other ways, Vitamin C is constantly needed—it is a line which must be held!" (33). The "line which must be held" referred to the defence of Canada at a time of war, grounding the defensibility of the nation in the health of individual health. The maintenance of individual health was, not surprisingly, the responsibility of Canada's women. Gagen's article drew from wartime rhetoric about national defence to inform women of their patriotic yet domestic role in winning Victory for Canada and its allies. The piece goes on to argue that "Canada's farms, markets, and even backyard gardens" (33) are the best places to turn for the vegetables and fruits that were filled with Vitamin C, suggesting two important ideas. First, the healthy produce bought by Canadian women ought to be home-grown, with women thereby supporting the domestic economy (a responsibility that the magazines set out for women during the Second World War and that I discuss at length in Chapter Five). Second, Canada was maintained as a wholesome, agriculturally prosperous place (an idea that correlated with the *Journal*'s publication of "Spring Always Comes" and "The Furrow"). Because of Canada's geographical distance from the physical destruction of the War, Canada was also seen as a place that had the freedom—and therefore the responsibility—to grow food and maintain a healthy populace. Gagen suggested that it was up to women to make the most of their freedom from want by feeding their families, and themselves, wisely.

Building on the theme of war and want, Katherine Caldwell Bayley wrote a piece on pickling and preserving of fruits and vegetables, a task with which many women would be engaged in the late summer months (see Figure 3). She points out that

> during the last war, there was a slogan: "Eat what you can and what you can't eat, can." We felt then that, even though we might not need a surplus in our own homes, it might be required elsewhere. This is another war—and food (speaking in the world-over sense) may go far in winning it. In Canada we have a breath-catching plenty…a surplus piled up behind some of our crops, and a richness of the fruits and vegetables that are such health-makers. But this is just one country, just one season. Nothing—absolutely nothing—should be allowed to waste. (31)

The piece went on to provide instructions for canning fruits and vegetables. Notably, the threat of extended years of war lingered over her piece, and this threat was, as with Gagen's article, mingled with the sense that Canada was a wealthy country. She assigned women the task of protecting the nation in the most fundamental way—ensuring that there would be food to eat in the future—in a manner that tied together women's daily lives in their private homes with the potential threat of a national crisis.

While the war effort fed into the conceptualization of food preparation as a part of national defence, discussions of food preparation during the Depression typically put a forward-looking, modernizing spin on Canadian kitchens that would be picked up again in the post-war years. For example, Helen G. Campbell, the editor of the cookery section for *Chatelaine*, published "The Mechanical Refrigerator" in the June 1932 issue. In it, she discussed the "modern housewife" (25), noting that her standards for food preparation and preservation were much higher than her pioneer predecessors. In doing so, Campbell linked contemporary women to a history of immigration and a desire for improvement, causing her article to resonate with both the magazines' fiction and Sanders' discussions of pioneer women. Advocating for the purchase of refrigerators, Campbell argued that they enabled to modern housekeepers to store:

> products from the four corners of the earth to make the nation's bill of fare more healthful, more appetizing, and more interesting. For refrigeration has brought the markets of the world to the housekeeper's door; [it] has lengthened seasons, leveled prices, improved quality, and made possible a variety undreamed of a few years ago. Truly, climates, seasons, and distance all shake hands in the kitchen of the modern Canadian home. And it is genius with an infinite capacity for taking pains which one sees behind the doors of Canadian factories where mechanical refrigerating units are built for Canadian women. (25)

Interestingly, Campbell's article echoes Sanders' introduction of Mazo de la Roche. The word "healthful," for instance, enters Campbell's argument in relation to bodily health while Sanders sought to promote "healthful thought." At the same time, the phrase "genius with an infinite capacity for taking pains" appears in both pieces. In Campbell's piece, the discussion is not, of course, an aspect of authorship, but an aspect of modern factory production that assisted women in ensuring the physical health of the nation. In this way, technology and the idea of genius were combined, with their purpose grounded in serving *Chatelaine*'s readers. In turn, the article stressed modernization through consumerism and new technology as the means to a better life that, as Campbell implies, is the foundation of Canada's pioneer heritage. In this way, the article relied on a narrative of progress that made both Canada's present circumstances and its projected future a smooth transition from its past, with Canadian women located at the centre of this transition through their work as housekeepers. As Strong-Boag puts it, consumer advertising directed at women, and the pressure to modernize their homes and so care for their families made "the traditional sphere of the domestic economy and its female managers assumed more prominence and importance" (138). At the same time, the modern kitchen was the meeting place for all "climates, seasons, and distance," making it a place in which the disparate regions of Canada—if not the world—were inter-connected and unified. This treatment of the kitchen moved it away from being solely a site for domestic labour and family care by positioning it as part of a social network from which women could derive enjoyment from the company of other women, detracting from both the drudgery of work and the potential strain or guilt of not being financially able to participate in the emerging economy of consumer products for the household.

The variety of modern fare to which Campbell refers looks, to an observer in the early twenty-first century, markedly tradition. Put together by M. Frances Hucks, *Chatelaine*'s monthly feature, "Meals of the Month" was a full-page calendar outlining a daily menu of three square meals a day. A sample menu for a weekday included a breakfast of orange juice, cereal, soft-boiled eggs, toast, and coffee or cocoa; lunch consisted of pancakes with maple syrup, crackers and cheese, tea or coffee; and dinner was made up of stewed chicken with dumplings, buttered carrots, fried mushrooms, grapefruit, Bavarian cream cake, and coffee or tea. "Meals of the Month" suggests two things about Canadian cuisine. First, it was grounded in traditional English cooking (such as chicken with dumplings) with a dash of Canadian flavour (such as maple syrup). Second, the meals assume that readers lived according to a five-day work week, with Sunday dinner being the most lavish meal of the week; the menu also assumed that readers organized their cooking around a nine-to-five office schedule to meet the patterns of their husbands' work. This assumption suggests that *Chatelaine* upheld an urban middle-class lifestyle as the norm, rather than the irregular shifts of working-class employment or the long days of a farming lifestyle, thereby upholding the daily patterns of the professional class as the norm for Canadian living.

The fact that not all readers shared this lifestyle, and that there were in fact many schisms in Canadian life that *Chatelaine* glossed over in its construction of a national identity, is exemplified in a 1934 letter sent from "M.J.B." of Manitoba:

> I do enjoy your magazine! Isn't it wonderful when you stop to think of how far your influence goes? I was out in the country the other day—taking bird pictures—and a little girl of eleven, a Ruthenian housekeeper and cook on her daddy's farm, brought out a copy of *Chatelaine* to show me. It was dog-eared and soiled, but every page was intact. "I learned how to set tables from this book," she said, "and I'm learning different things to cook." She was so proud of a tablecloth of red-checked gingham, and was doing her best to plan her family's meals as you advised. (Aug. 1934 68).

Both the writer and the girl were *Chatelaine* readers, with one reader on a leisure-oriented trip from the city, while the other was a child on a farm. *Chatelaine*'s influence "went far" in instructing the little girl on the farm how to conform to urban, middle-class expectations, despite her distance from that lifestyle, because *Chatelaine* set out these expectations as universal. The conformity suggests the ways in which the magazine in fact fostered these expectations and practices, bringing them into areas they might not otherwise reach, and making them into a natural part of the daily life there. At the same time, there is an element of pathos in how M.J.B. writes about the little girl learning everything about how to be a housekeeper and take care of her family from *Chatelaine*. The magazine, for its part, took up this element as a sign of *Chatelaine*'s importance to the nation as an instrument through which young Canadians were instructed on how to conduct their daily lives, with this instruction winning the approval, and even the admiration, of its older and better-off readers.

Childcare

Young Canadians were, in fact, central to much of the advice given out by both magazines, with questions over health and education at the core of this advice. The August 1940 issue of the *Journal*, for instance, included "The Well Baby Centre," which was written each month by Helen MacMurchy. A Toronto paediatrician, MacMurchy was affiliated with the University of Toronto and a regular contributor to the *Journal*.

Her article in the August issue offered banal advice on summer-specific problems that might affect a broad spectrum of readers. It included advice on how to prevent air sickness in children when travelling to a vacation destination and how to treat sun-burn. Such advice assumed that families had enough leisure time and income to take a vacation—and the freedom to leave home in the summer rather than handling agricultural work—thus upholding the same urban, middle-class lifestyle set out in the cookery articles in *Chatelaine*. The focus on banal problems also avoided any discussion of specific health issues or of children who were seriously ill. To this end, a note at the end of MacMurchy's article informed readers that they could ask individual questions by sending letters to Dr. MacMurchy, care of the *Journal*. The fact that the *Journal* employed a female physician, and suggested that readers could receive personalized advice from her, suggested that women's health concerns would remain both confidential and within a community of other women. The advice column thus offered useful information and assured women that their work as caregivers was a common experience they shared with other women across Canada.

Education was the other key issue that was situated as central to Canadian women. In keeping with this, *Chatelaine* published "Don't Teach Your Child the Alphabet—So Advises a Teacher of Primary Reading" in the June 1932 issue. In it, Marjorie Ellis Bird, a teacher, explained the newly-designed phonetic approach to reading instruction that "public schools across the whole of Canada" had adopted. She warned that children who had been taught their "Ay-Bee-Cees" at home would be confused by the school system's methodology and fall behind. Girls, she argued, were particularly susceptible to failure because "a little girl" is "such a conscientious little figure" that she would not know whose approval to seek—her mother's or her teacher's (53). Bird clearly felt that the teacher, as the expert, had the authority to instruct Canadian children, and she concluded her article with a short lecture on the purpose of motherhood. According to her, mothers were needed to "help to create character and ambition, for it is [by] the small and apparently insignificant beginnings that we set their feet on the pathway of the perfect foursquare life" (53). Teachers, in contrast, provided practical instruction. Bird's treatment of a mother's responsibilities resonates with

Lawrence's editorial on character-building, with both pieces relegating the role of mothers to a vaguely-defined realm of psychological development that was elevated, on one hand, by overtones of spirituality, and devalued, on the other hand, in that the work of mothers required no training or professional expertise. The role of fathers, or other members of the family or community, were not mentioned at all, suggesting both the primacy of mothers in raising children and a lack of more extended support or influences. Children, for their part, were supposed to mould themselves to fit a set of standards defined as "the perfect foursquare of life" (53) that they learned from parents and teachers alike, and a gender division in which girls were less resilient and more compliant than boys, was upheld as natural and normal. Bird's article, then, maps out the divide between the authority handed over to experts and institutions—in this case, teachers and the school system—run by the state, with mothers situated as moral guardians and caregivers who might, she implied, harm their children by trying to step outside of these roles. Further to this, the importance of the relationship between national identity, language, and schooling has been taken up by Eric Hobsbawm and Ernest Gellner. Hobsbawm, in *The Invention of Tradition*, points out that the school system is a means of teaching students "standard national languages" (14) that generate a unified national identity at the level of oral and written communication. Similarly, Gellner argues that modern nations are atomized and anonymous societies in which communication among citizens takes place without the context provided by social interaction. As he puts it, "the capacity either to articulate or to comprehend context-free messages is not an easy one to acquire. It requires schooling, prolonged schooling" (30). In providing this schooling, the nation-state generates a linguistic homogeneity among its citizens in a way that makes shared language a source of national unity. *Chatelaine*, in this piece, re-enforced the work of the school system in creating good citizens by explaining a new approach to language skills used by the nation's educational system. The fact that the magazine published an article recommending that mothers not interfere with state education suggests the limitation imposed on the agency of women as mothers when faced with the national imperative that their children receive an education according to state-defined principles.

Beauty and Fashion

Advice on beauty and fashion took the form of illustrations, reports on clothing trends in Paris, and question-and-answer pages dealing with readers' beauty and clothing frustrations. To begin with the question of beauty advice, the August 1940 issue of the *Journal* featured "You Were Asking," which took questions about beauty from women in "every corner of Canada" and then consulted experts—in this case, dermatologists and make-up artists—for solutions. One of the letters asked for advice on removing unwanted hair, while the other sought help with making freckles disappear. Attached to this page was the column, "Beauty News," which recommended summer shades of lipstick and creams to treat sunburn. The third and last column, "In Praise of Soap" recommended different types of soap for maintaining soft skin and, especially, soft hands. On the surface, these pieces do not appear to suggest anything in particular about nation-building, yet the kinds of questions taken up suggest the editors' sense of who made up the readership of this Canadian magazine. The "praise of soap," in particular, is reminiscent of Anne McClintok's discussion of "soap and civilization" in her book *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. Analysing the racialized images that were used in the advertising campaign for Pears' Soap in Britain during the nineteenth century, McClintok argues:

> Soap did not flourish when imperial ebullience was at its peak. It emerged commercially during an era of impending crisis and social calamity, serving to preserve, through fetish ritual, the uncertain boundaries of class, gender, and race identity in a social order felt to be threatened by the fetid effluvia of the slums, the belching smoke of industry, social agitation, economic upheaval, imperial competition, and anticolonial resistance. Soap offered the promise of spiritual salvation and regeneration through commodity consumption, a regime of domestic hygiene that could restore the threatened potency of the imperial body politic and the race. (211)

The politics of race and class can, in this light, be seen at work in the beauty advice offered by the magazines. This advice concerned itself with a particular type of Canadian feminine beauty, with skin care suggestions for treating sunburn or bleaching freckles implying that the skin of readers was not only white, but also that white skin was something readers ought to keep as white as possible (that is, unburned and freckle-free). At the same time, the recommendations for soaps that could keep hands soft suggests a degree of affluence that was necessary to keep women from ruining their hands with physical labour. Indeed, the beauty articles on soft hands correlate with the references to Marika's once-elegant hands—hands used primarily for playing the piano—being ruined by her work repairing and cleaning the farmhouse in "Spring Always Comes." Marika, of course, did this work to ensure a better life for herself and her family, but the effort took a physical toll on her body. Beauty products, such as hand cream, the article suggested, could repair and possibly even disguise these marks, bringing readers closer to the better life sought in Canada—or, at least, to the appearance of it. In this way, even aspects of the magazine that seem to be divorced from national identity work towards constructing that identity as white and middle-class, with women serving as symbols of affluence and comfort, and with the consumption of beauty products contributing to this symbolization.

The ideas of affluence and leisure carried through in the discussion of fashion, yet this discussion was also marked by the question of international influence over Canadian culture. The June 1932 issue *Chatelaine*, for instance, devoted four pages to fashion and clothing that showcased high fashion while explaining how readers could obtain the sewing patterns for these fashions through *Chatelaine*. As one blurb on the fashion pages put it, "Paris inspires the mode … and Canada makes the pattern" (70). High fashion, then, was not treated as something inherent to Canadian culture; rather, it was an aspect of culture imported from Europe and modified for Canadian use. Accordingly, a column that was frequently attached to the fashion illustrations was titled "The Paris Letter," and Sanders took pains to note the significance of *Chatelaine*'s presence in Paris:

> These Paris letters, by the way, are excursions into very private property, for nothing is quite so hard to get into as one of the mid-season openings of the big Paris dress-making houses. Mary Wyndham has been following fashions now in Paris for sixteen years, and is one of the lucky few admitted. Before her marriage she did newspaper work in Canada, and is still a regular visitor to the Dominion.

> Her aim is to be "really helpful" to Canadian women in the matter of clothes, avoiding the extremes and seasonal freaks that are outmoded in three months' time, and seeking out those fashions that are practical for women at home. (Aug. 1933 16).

"The Paris Letter," then, was an actual letter from a correspondent in Paris. The emphasis on private property suggested that, through *Chatelaine*, Canadian readers could enter into a foreign and exclusive element of the cultural world through the pages of the magazine. In turn, the magazine translated elements of that world into elements of culture that could be incorporated into daily life, such as affordable sewing patterns. Canada, then, was not a centre for fashion, nor was it home to the kind of wealth the couture fashions of Paris required. The Canadian nation was, instead, on the periphery of European-centered culture yet able to participate in it by importing and modifying that culture. In this way, fashion was a site in which Canada was inferior to Paris, and through which colonial inferiority was sustained, unchallenged, in relation to European culture.

In keeping with this, a March 1932 article asked "Is the Canadian Woman better Dressed than her American Sister?" and went on to expound the views of a "a Parisian woman [who] tells the writer that Canadian women are *trés chic* because they, like French women, know how to sew and are therefore more selective about what they wear" (7). Citing a Parisian woman as a figure of authority, Gwyneth Barrington, the author of the article and a former designer for New York fashion houses, maintained that Canadian women were more successful in fashion than American women. Her explanation for the difference made clothing choices both subject to Canada's position between the United States and Britain and elemental to the individual construction of what became a national culture. In her words:

> it is the sheer geographic necessity of blending American chic with English practicality which has produced this success, which, mingling with unconfessed worldly wisdom, has led them past the easy allure of "flivver" dressing, to the very sound conclusion that as there is only one of each of them, it is the subtlest sophistication to capitalize on the fact. (7)

Their skill as seamstresses, in turn, led Canadian women to choose and modify fashionable clothing to suit them as individuals, making them unique in a way that contributed to an overall national culture of fashion sense.

The article is, notably, quite flattering to the Canadian reader, and its flattery does two important things in terms of national culture. First, it maintains a distinction in American and Canadian women that is symbolized through clothing. Canadian women are treated as more self-aware and more skilled than their American counterparts, and these qualities take on a visible form. Second, it positioned Canada between America and England, and suggested that Canada had a talent for blending the best of both worlds. Fashion, then, was an arena where Canadian women were unabashedly encouraged to be "international" because being international implied sophistication and style. That said, the magazines also offered patterns and adaptable versions of high fashion that could be sewn and worn in ordinary circumstances, thus recuperating the prestige of the fashion pages into an accessible element of daily life. In this sense, the fashion pages mapped the position of Canada in relation to cultural spheres and, with its focus on what was considered a purely feminine interest, brought women into the construction of national identity through their use of clothing as an expression their sense of self. These individual expressions, in turn, came to be perceived as a collective expression of the cultural tastes of Canadian women.

On the whole, the advice columns in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* participated in upholding prescribed gender roles and, in turn, placed these gender roles within the context of national identity. The cookery advice, for instance, united women across Canada through the publication of their individual recipes. The work that women did in the kitchens of the nation was, in turn, situated as their responsibility in maintaining the health of the nation. The care of children was a part of this responsibility, and the advice columns sought out the opinions of professionals like paediatricians and school teachers to instruct women on how best to raise their children. Such advice often marked the limitations on women's agency as, for example, Marjorie Ellis Bird's article effectively told women to concentrate on the emotional health and moral development of their children and avoid interfering with the work of the state in teaching their children a standard set of language skills that would make them acceptable citizens. Amid these messages regarding women's responsibilities to their homes and their nation, beauty and fashion advice appeared as an enjoyable facet of women's lives. The beauty columns were nonetheless marked by the construction of national identity, as beauty columns assumed that women were white and middle class. Fashion pages, for their part, located Canada within the international cultural hubs of Paris and New York, and discussed women's fashion choices as a means of self-expression that collectively suggested the psyche of Canadian women as it was perceived by the world at large. Throughout, the advice pages of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* were underwritten by a quest for self-improvement that, in turn, became a means of defending the nation (through healthful cooking), strengthening its future (through raising children), and expressing one's individuals tastes within the nation (through fashion choices).

Advertising and Canadian Nationalism

Nationalism as an Advertising Campaign

Chatelaine and the *Journal* turned to a high level of Canadian content as a means of distinguishing themselves from their American competitors in the literary marketplace. The result was the engagement of both magazines in the construction of Canadian identity, and the non-advertising content of the magazines was not alone in adopting this identity as a means of self-promotion. The advertising content also participated in generating national consciousness through its use of striking visual images drawn from Canada's geography or Canada's body of national emblems. These images were combined with patriotic advertising copy, causing the consumer products marketed in the magazines to present various aspects of Canadiana as a means of appealing to readers. In this way, advertising was well-integrated into the national focus of the magazines, with commodity consumption becoming an element of Canada's national identity. Further to this, the mainstream Canadian identity that the magazines constructed was a white, urban, middle-class one. As I have noted earlier in this chapter, and as I will explore further in Chapter Two, this identity stemmed from the fact that advertisers sought out this audience as the one most likely and able to purchase their goods. While the magazines strove to represent various aspects of Canadian life, it was clear throughout these representations that the chance to improve one's life and, in turn, Canadian society, were central to the identity constructed by the magazines. Advertising and commodity consumption, which perpetually suggested that a given product could improve one's daily life, readily fed into the magazines' treatment of the nation. Consumerism and national identity were thus drawn together on the pages of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* as the magazines sought to represent Canadians to themselves.

The relationship between magazine advertising and the nation has been taken up by Ellen Gruber Garvey and Richard Ohmann in their work on American magazines at the turn of the century. Ellen Gruber Garvey, in her book *The Adman in the Parlor*, argues that American mass-market magazines published between 1880 and 1910 were the primary medium through which brand-name products were promoted on a national scale. For this reason, "national advertising created a cultural shorthand that enabled people across the country to understand a reference to a brand of soap or a joke about an advertising slogan" (81). In addition to creating a sense of shared knowledge that coalesced around consumer products, advertising in nationally-oriented magazines "suggested to readers that they should participate in [their] national culture as individual consumers" (Garvey 81) within a larger social framework of individualistic capitalism. In this way, advertising in mass-market magazines helped to naturalize consumption, and the capitalistic enterprise that encouraged consumption, as part of the American way of life.

Richard Ohmann, in considering a selection of American middlebrow mass-market magazines that circulated between 1899 and 1903, argues that the "consolidation of the advertising business strengthened and helped make the corporate ruling class, stabilizing its mastery of production, extending its reach into accumulated capital, and increasing while obscuring its power to intervene in the daily lives of citizens" (117). Magazines, which in Ohmann's view were the first instances of mass culture in the United States, were instrumental in the consolidation of both advertising and the corporate class because magazines enabled the circulation of large quantities of advertising on their pages. The result was that magazines helped to define class divisions in the United States. As Mark Morrisson observes, "advertising and commodity consumption became an organizing social and cultural principle, and not just a method of keeping the economic fires lit" (4). This organizing principle is, according to Roland Marchand's work on American advertising in the 1920s and 1930s, underwritten by a gap between the portrayal of modern life through advertising and real life as it was experienced by readers. As Marchand argues:

> as advertisers quickly perceived, people did not usually want ads to reflect themselves, their immediate social relationships, or their broader society exactly. They wanted not a true mirror but a Zerrspiegel, a distorting mirror that would enhance certain images. [...] Advertising's mirror not only distorted, it also selected. Some social realities hardly appeared at all. One has to search diligently in the ads of the 1920s and 1930s to find even fleeting glimpses of such common scenes as religious services, factory workers on the job, sports fans enjoying a boxing match or baseball game, or working-class families at home. [...] Advertisers recognized that consumers would rather identify with scenes of higher status than ponder reflections of their own lives. In response, they often sought to give products a "class image" by placing them in what recent advertising jargon would call "upscale" settings. (xvii)

Advertising, then, was both a means of informing class identity for middle-class readers and a catalogue of social and economic aspirations—the fantasy of a better life—that was intertwined with the purchase of goods. *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, as much as they set themselves out to be unique from American magazines, can be seen as participating in the re-structuring of Canadian society along social and cultural divisions in the 1930s and 1940s that are similar to those outlined by Ohmann; simultaneously, both magazines circulated a fantasy of an "upscale" lifestyle as an ideal to which Canadians could aspire.

Canada was roughly three decades behind the United States in the development of nationally-distributed mass-market magazines and the advertising that supported these magazines. Where these magazines became prevalent in the United States during the 1890s, Canadian mass-market magazines did not emerge until the 1920s. Over the course of this decade, Canada became increasingly urbanized and industrialized, with these changes creating an urban audience with the leisure time and money to read periodicals. According to Fraser Sutherland's work on the appearance of the mass-market magazine in Canada, "the tremendous growth in U.S. advertising" (113) that followed increased industrialization in that country "alerted Canadian publishers to the fact that there was a lot of money to be made" (113) by selling these advertisers space in Canadian magazines. In conjunction with this realization on the part of publishers, a combination of demographic shifting—more than half of the Canadian population lived in cities after 1921—post-First World War nationalism made Canadian mass-market magazines a new and viable phenomenon in Canadian print culture. It was not coincidence, then, that *Chatelaine* emerged as a new magazine at the end of the 1920s while established magazines such as *Saturday Night*, the *Canadian Home Journal*, and the *National Home Monthly* redefined themselves as "national" magazines that provided a national distribution network for consumer goods.

These goods were typically products manufactured by Canadian subsidiaries of American parent companies, a fact that appears to have had a two-fold effect on the nature of advertising in Canadian magazines. First, the advertisements imported an approach to marketing in slick-paper, mass-market magazines that had been successful in the United States. This approach included the construction of readers as, to use Ohmann's words, "a professional managerial class" that "consumed at a particular level" (223), and the representation of women as society's consumers (Damon-Moore 37, 55). Second, the advertisements highlighted the Canadian qualities of the goods for sale by identifying locations of their manufacturing centers (usually Toronto or Montreal) and their use of raw materials and labour from Canada. The advertiser's emphasis on these elements of the production of goods suggests that they understood the intent of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*'s publishers to appeal to Canadians and, in turn, the intent of individuals who purchased the magazines to buy Canadian materials. Advertising, as a result, presented commodity consumption in Canada and the United States as fundamentally the same set of desires and practices while giving those desires and practices a uniquely Canadian twist that added a consumer-oriented element to the magazines' overarching engagement with Canadian identity.

The most prominent advertisements in the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* were for the American companies General Motors (GM), the Ford Motor Company, Kraft Foods, Campbell's Soups, Coca-Cola, Bon Ami household cleanser, Ponds cosmetics, Johnson & Johnson cosmetics, and Parker Vacuumatic Pens. These companies advertised their products in every issue of both magazines from 1928 to 1945, and they were careful to emphasize their use of Canadian resources in the making of their products, rather than their American affiliations. The advertisements were also prominent in terms of their position within the magazines. Ford, GM, Bon Ami, Coca-Cola, and Parker Pens shared the inside front cover, the inside back cover, and the back cover over the years. At times, these companies took up additional pages within the magazines or, in the case of GM and Ford, took out double-page spreads in the middle of the magazine towards the end of the Second World War. The other companies typically took up full-page advertisements within the magazine. Altogether, these companies formed the staple advertisers in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, providing the revenue that the magazines required to remain in print while simultaneously creating the "cultural shorthand" organized around consumer goods that Garvey discusses in relation to American periodicals. Yet, as noted earlier, these companies were careful to align their products with Canadian nationalism.

The car manufacturing company GM published a series of particularly striking examples of this process at work. During the Second World War, for instance, GM frequently ran an advertisement that symbolically drew together the Canadian provinces, the British Empire, wartime patriotism, and automobile production. One instance of this ad appears on the back cover of the March 1942 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal* (see Figure 4). In it, a brightly coloured illustration combined the provincial flags of Canada with the Canadian Coat of Arms; underneath the Coat of Arms, the words to the opening verse of "O Canada" appear in a large typeface. Beneath these words, the advertising copy read:

> With all loyal Canadians, the men and women of General Motors stand on guard at this crucial hour, facing a year which may bring to the British people the severest test of arms in the Empire's history. This fateful year must be borne, and borne valiantly, overseas and in our native land, before we shall see rising out of

> the ashes of havoc the winged promise of a new day, a new world, a new hope for all mankind. (back cover)

This choice of imagery and text made use of readers' sense of national loyalty and sought to re-direct that loyalty towards the GM company. The advertisement suggested that "the men and women of General Motors" and Canadian citizens were unified in their bid for victory, situating the car company as an integral part of the nation and its defence. At the same time, its use of the provincial flags promoted a coast-to-coast image of unity that echoed the non-advertising contents of the magazine that worked to present Canada's many regions. The advertisement thus included itself in the wider cultural discussions of the magazine. Moreover, the advertisement implicated both Canada and GM in the defence of Britain and suggested that once international peace was achieved, the nation and the corporation would be united in seeing the "promise of a new day." Underwriting this promise of a new day was the capitalistic goal of post-war prosperity which, accordingly, addressed Canadian readers as combined citizens and consumers who could purchase GM cars in the anticipated post-war era as a celebration of victory. Indeed, the advertisement tied together a desire for international peace with an idealization of national prosperity in which consumerism was an overt expression of the nation's hard-won peace and prosperity.

Other advertisements focused on the importance of being manufactured in Canada using Canadian labour and materials, thus showing their corporate contribution to the nation's economy as well as their contribution to the lives of the consumers. The advertisements for Campbell's Soup offer typical examples of this approach to advertising. The company usually ran full-page advertisements for Campbell's Soup on page seventeen of the *Journal* and page twenty-three of *Chatelaine* throughout the 1930s and 1940s, and these advertisements invariably emphasized the Canadian qualities of their products. The advertisement that appeared in the June 1932 of *Chatelaine*, for example, was for vegetable soup, and it noted that the soup was made from "vegetables grown right here in our own brilliant Canadian sunshine and vigorous Northern climate!" and were intended for "Canadian kitchens" (23) (see Figure 5). Underneath the advertising copy, large letters read: "Made in Canada by the Campbell Soup Company

Ltd., New Toronto, Ontario" (23). The illustrations showed a selection of fresh vegetables juxtaposed with a bowl of soup and the announcement "How to serve 15 vegetables for luncheon!" (23).

In these ways, the advertising copy suggested to readers that they were supporting Canadian farmers and manufacturers by purchasing Campbell's Soup, and this support would have been important during the Depression. At the same time, the advertisement presented Canada as a wholesome nation that was in tune with the wholesome qualities of Campbell's soup. Canada's brilliant and vigorous climate resulted in nutritious food prepared by, the advertisement implied, conscientious women in Canadian kitchens who wished to feed their families a nourishing luncheon that included fifteen vegetables for the low price of twelve cents a can. In this sense, the expectation that women fed and cared for their families became situated as a national duty to support, ostensibly, Canadian agriculture and manufacturing through the purchase of a given consumer product. The Canadian nation, then, was never far from the promotional strategies employed by advertisers, and this holds true for private corporations as much as it did for advertising space in the magazines that was taken up by the nation-state.

Throughout the Second World War, the federal government of Canada appealed to the patriotism of the nation-wide wide audiences of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* in many ways, including the publication of advertisement for the Canadian Women's Army Corps and Victory Bonds. While I discuss these advertisements in more detail in Chapter Five, it is worth noting here that advertising mechanisms came into play in spreading nationalism in much the same way that they were used to promote consumerism. In August 1940, for instance, a full-colour ad for Canada Brand Lobster appeared on the back cover of the *Journal*. Commissioned by the Minister of Fisheries, the advertisement promoted the purchase of tinned lobster as a means of directly supporting a Canadian industry and the people involved in it. According to the advertising copy:

> Canada's lobster industry is facing a serious emergency caused by the loss of overseas markets affected by the War. [...] If every woman will buy at least one can of lobster now...a great step will have been taken to save this valuable

> Canadian industry. Women of Canada—we need your help! We know we shall not be disappointed. (back cover)

The ad went on to recommend that readers contact the Ministry of Fisheries, which had sponsored the ad, to receive their new booklet, "Economical Lobster Recipes." In this case, women were called on to "save" an element of Canada's economical and regional diversity—maritime fishing—through their consumer choices. The War, for its part, was a threat to a particular way of life in Canada. The nation-wide support of women who purchased Canadian lobster involved these women protecting Canada and sustaining a particular region that was under threat. In effect, women were asked to turn their patriotic sentiments into a consumer purchase that would strengthen both a regional industry and the nation as a whole.

Glamorous Canada: Advertising the Nation as a Tourist Destination

Two groups of advertisements were decidedly Canadian, in both their ownership and their use of Canadian imagery and nationalist rhetoric: Canadian Pacific Rail and Canadian National Rail. Of these two companies, Canadian Pacific published a number of very prominent advertisements throughout the 1930s and 1940s that employed nationalism as a marketing strategy. Long viewed as the mechanism that united Canada, rail travel companies played on their historical role in geographically connecting the country from sea to sea; they also presented themselves as contributors to the war effort and builders of the nation's future. In doing so, they generated a series of definitions for Canada throughout the 1930s and 1940s by naming Canada's ideals, describing the role of women, and, most importantly, linking not only Canada's disparate regions, but also its past and future. Rail travel, according to Canadian Pacific advertisements, was not only a refined way of travelling, but also a means of entering into the nation's history, geography, and culture.

In their treatment of women, the advertisements returned to the image of the pioneer woman that Sanders hearkened to in her editorials and that stories like "Spring Always Comes" upheld in a more modern form. This image, in all three instances, was intended to inspire contemporary women to take pride in Canada and feel that their daily lives had value because they were helping to strengthen the nation. The figure of the pioneer woman also created a sense of continuity across the non-advertising and advertising content of the magazines, causing these different elements to coalesce around the idea of a shared history among Canadian women that was grounded in immigration and the demands of building a new life in a new country. In the June 1932 issue of *Chatelaine*, for example, a double-page advertisement for Canadian Pacific read:

> The Canadian Pacific Railway desires to pay tribute to the pioneer Women of Canada, who, by their unflinching devotion to their men, encouraged them to endure, to win out. Bringer of all the world to her door, by train, telegraph, cable, and radio service, the Canadian Pacific knows well the part the Pioneer Woman of Canada has played in its making.
>
> Homes to be made, husbands, fathers, and brothers to be heartened and strengthened, children to be reared and equipped for their struggle to maintain Canadian ideals; a whole nation to be uplifted, inspired—who but the Pioneer Women of Canada could have accomplished this work?
>
> Behind officers, engineers, workmen and behind every man employed in this system, is and always will be the fine spirit of Canadian Womanhood. (40-41)

The advertisement showed a woman and two children waving to a train as it went by. While it was vague in actually naming the "Canadian ideals" mentioned, the implication was that those ideals were marked by perpetual expansion, progress, and perseverance. Both industry and the private home were yoked together in these ideals, with women situated as both pragmatic figures who supported and cared for their husbands and families and as inspirational figures whose presence made the development of the nation important. As the advertisement put it, rail lines brought "all the world to her door," suggesting that the work of men at Canadian Pacific was designed to serve female citizens, and such rhetoric positioned Canadian women as integral figures in the nation even as it located them in a secondary, supporting role in its construction. As for Canada as an entity in and of itself, the advertisement hearkened back to a pioneering past while projecting a future that used technology both to unite the nation and to foster its progress.

This idea of progress was central other Canadian Pacific advertisements, including one that was printed in both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* in 1945 (see Figure 6). In it, the words "Sixty Years of Progress" appeared across the top of a full-page promotion of rail travel. Once again, the imagery and text suggested the rail company's history in Canada, with an image of men in suits pounding in the last spike. This image appeared below other images of Canadian Pacific's luxury hotels, such as the Banff Springs Hotel and the Chateau Frontenac, that were painted as if they were castles in the sky. The text read "When, on November 7, 1885, the last spike was driven linking the rails of the Canadian Pacific Railway, developments only dreamed of that day were to follow" (*Journal* Nov. 1945 61). The advertisement then listed Canadian Pacific's advances in travel through the development of steamships and better rail service, and noted that telegraph service was another means through which Canadian Pacific contributed to the lives of Canadians. With the Second World War drawing to a close, the advertisement also suggested that the company was keen to play on the last remnants of wartime nationalism while positioning themselves for the future. As the text pointed out:

> In 1939, this vast system was dedicated to the winning of the War. Now the Canadian Pacific faces the future. Plans have been completed for the construction of new, improved, locomotives and coaches….sleeping cars….parlour cars….diners; for the renovation of stations and hotels, and for the building of a new ocean fleet of vessels. In a world of peace the Canadian Pacific will do its part in providing modern, efficient, transportation by land and sea. (61)

The advertisement also commented on the death of individuals who had worked for the company, as well as the loss of various vessels, during the War, thus causing Canadian Pacific's losses to dovetail with personal losses and the sacrifices asked of Canadians. The advertisement thereby placed three pivotal ideas alongside one another in order to make the rail line appear integral to Canadian identity. First, the ad presented a past moment—the moment in which the rail line was completed—as the moment in which coast-to-coast unity was achieved and therefore Canada was formed as a nation; the ad then suggested that Canadian Pacific would be instrumental to Canada in new and previously unimagined ways. Second, the ad discussed the War and highlighted the company's patriotism in stoically accepting its losses alongside Canadian individuals. Third, it presented the company as a part of Canada's future progress, a future in which modern technology would continue to improve the lives of Canadians. Indeed, the luxury hotels that appear above the image of labourers standing back as the rail line was completed suggests the ascent of Canadians from the rigours of Canada's early development to a more comfortable existence. Conspicuous consumption, wealth, and peace were melded together in the ad's projection of Canada's future; these things were, in turn, combined with the idea that Canadians had earned both peace and material comfort, and that Canadian Pacific existed to help them achieve both of these dreams.

This idyllic projection of Canada, as presented in the Canadian Pacific advertisement, was not a completely new concept that emerged at the end of the War. The company had also run advertisements for holidays at their hotels throughout the Depression and the Second World War. These advertisements presented Canada as a pristine space in which the natural beauty of Canada's wilderness blended together seamlessly with modern, even glamorous, elements of conspicuous consumption and contemporary living. Moreover, the advertisements presented Canadians to themselves as a class of people with a certain degree of refinement to which Canadian Pacific hotels could cater for an affordable price. As one ad argued, readers could have "6 Glorious Days in the Canadian Rockies, All Expenses, $60, Yes…Lake Louise [and] Banff…in one epochal tour plan" (*Chatelaine* June 1932 32). The advertisement was accompanied by photographs of the "incomparable Lake Louise," Emerald Lake, and Takkakaw Falls," and it went on to quote "Edward Whymper, the famous Alpinist, who called the Rockies 'fifty Switzerlands in one' " (32). Similarly, a June 1938 issue of the *Journal* ran an ad for Banff and Canadian Pacific Hotels that consisted of largely of photographs showing people swimming, hiking, golfing, horseback riding, dining and dancing at the Banff Springs Hotel and the Chateau Lake Louise. Alongside these images, the advertising copy described "snow-capped peaks towering into the blue—jade green rivers—vast unspoiled forests—tangy mountain air to set you up… Banff Springs Hotel, like a Scottish Baronial Castle—gracious—replete with all the niceties of modern living, is

Canada's mountain summer capital" (35). Canadian tourists were thus promised a glamorous trip within their own country that was comparable to the grand tours of Europe that the wealthy elite had taken in the nineteenth century. As with the fashion features, the travel advertisements looked to Europe for their definition of taste and then created a Canadian equivalent. Importantly, visiting the places described in the advertisements was the natural right, if not responsibility, of Canadian citizens who were encouraged to see and experience their own country first-hand.

Indeed, the advertisements for travel in Canada had an editorial parallel, as editors and writers for both magazines championed such travel. For example, in an article in the July 1930 issue of the *Journal*, former editor Jean Graham urged readers to "See Canada First!" and argued that "we cannot imagine any country more liberally endowed with lakes, hills, and streams, where we may fish and ramble to our heart's delight, and build up a store of health that may last for many months" (10). She went on to enumerate Canada's attractions from Prince Edward Island, "with its roses and its salt air (10), to "picturesque Quebec, with the lordliest river in the world giving its freshness for a thousand miles" to "Banff the Beautiful, mak[ing] Alberta glorious, and Jasper Park having every attraction that nature can bestow" (10). She concluded that

> there is no land on earth that can give us fairer views or happier days. North, south, east, and west, the prospect is the same, with the bluest of lakes, the brightest of streams, and mountains that kiss the clouds. We certainly do not need to cross our own boundaries, in order to find all that human nature demands. (11)

Similarly, H. Napier-Moore, editor of *Maclean*'s, published a guest editorial in the June 1934 issue of *Chatelaine* advocating travel in Canada. In it, he argued that

> money spent in travel is a sound investment. Nothing can take from you the returns it guarantees—broadmindedness, pleasant education, relaxation, recreation, and lasting memories. You can render no greater service to your children, derive no greater pleasure yourself, than to enlarge [your] knowledge of your own country. (2)

The qualities that Napier-Moore enumerates can be read as the ideals that the magazines wanted to foster in Canadian readers: broad-mindedness, a desire for education, and an ability to make wise use of leisure time. These were the things that the other contents of the magazines tried to foster, and travel was situated as a way to move beyond the page in realizing these ideals. These features were effectively advertisements for the tourism industry, and, in turn, they became advertisements for Canada itself.

Conclusion

In Chapter One, I have explored the ways in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* offered readers a series of discussion about, and images of, Canada's heritage and contemporary culture. Through a combination of editorials, fiction, articles, advice columns, and advertisements, the magazines participated in the construction of Canadian identity throughout the Depression and the Second World War. Editorials, for instance, discussed the connection between magazine reading and national consciousness, with *Chatelaine* in particular discussing the practice of reading as a practice of national importance. Authorship, for its part, was constructed as a category that was intimately tied to citizenship and, in turn, the author's ability to express facets of Canadian life through fiction. The fiction itself presented readers with renderings of Canada's regional diversity, yet this diversity was underwritten by the assumption that Canadians shared a history of immigration and that they sought to achieve a comfortable, middle-class lifestyle. Further to this, the fiction presented the home and family as the central source of meaning in this bid for a better life. Feature articles were designed to show Canadian women to themselves in a manner that inspired women to contribute to their communities. Advice columns, in turn, were designed to teach readers how to be good Canadians, with cookery, childcare, and fashion being situated as activities that derived their importance from the ways in which they strengthened and expressed nationhood. Finally, advertising mapped out a relationship between Canadian identity and commodity consumption, suggesting that the national ideal of achieving a better life was readily compatible with consumerism. In turn, some advertisements, such as Canadian Pacific's ads for hotels and rail travel, effectively became advertisements for Canada that celebrated the nation's geographical diversity, natural beauty, and material comforts.

On the whole, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* generated a sense of unified identity and nationalistic pride in their presentation of regional differences, shared history, and common concerns over how one ought to live one's daily life. At the same time, the magazines signalled the restrictions on women's participation in nation-building and re-enforced a gender dichotomy in which women were relegated to the private life of the home. Canada itself was not an abstract concept, but a combination of place, culture, and values that was made concrete and specific through both fictitious works and non-fiction discussions of life in Canada, thus setting up the nation as the source of meaning for the everyday lives of Canadian women. The next question, then, is this : how did women respond to these representations of Canada and their role within it? I therefore explore this question by considering the readership of the magazines and the response of readers to the magazines in the following chapter.

Chapter Two

"To Develop this Nation that is Ours": Re-constructing Readers and the Reception of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*

> So much is written of women who are constantly in the public eye; so little is told of the day by day achievements of women in every corner of Canada. The *Chatelaine* wants to do honor to these fine women, and in honoring them to include all the women who are working so splendidly to develop this nation that is ours.
>
> --Byrne Hope Sanders, Editorial, *Chatelaine* 1932

> Our ages range from the twenty-two-year-old stenographer to the forty-two-year-old Hausfrau. All of us were born in Canada and except for an occasional trip abroad we have lived here all our lives. We come of middle-class Anglo-Saxon families, just like the ordinary taxpaying kind who don't make headlines. Joined by a common impulse of wanting to read more books than we were able to buy individually, we each brought one and pooled the lot. […] Thanks to the suggestion of *Chatelaine*, we felt that for no great outlay we have kept up in books this year.
>
> --"The Book Club at Work," *Chatelaine* 1934

Who read *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal*, and why did these readers choose to read these magazines? To explore these questions, I approach the magazines from five different perspectives in this chapter. I begin by taking up the circulation figures and discussions of subscriptions and national distribution as they took place on the pages of both magazines. As I explore below, these discussions were never simple accounts of numbers; rather, they were marketing strategies that interpellated readers as patriotic citizens. From here, I move on to a consideration of the magazines' physical qualities and the ways in which these qualities may have informed reading practices. Third, I look at the ways in which readers were constructed through the magazines' texts and images. I discuss these constructions in the context of gender and class construction as they have been analysed largely in relation to American periodicals; my intent is to understand the ways in which constructions of Canadian women related gender expectations to national identity. Fourth, I analyse a series of letters from readers that appeared in *Chatelaine* in the year 1934. These letters provide us with insight into the geographical, economical, and social elements of readers' lives; moreover, they express, in the readers' own words, their reception of *Chatelaine*. Last, I take up the practice of reading as it was articulated by a group of eight women who formed a book club in autumn and winter of 1933 to 1934. The club was formed as a result of *Chatelaine*'s 1933 article advocating the pleasures of book club reading, and the anonymous, collectively-written article that the club wrote situates *Chatelaine* within the context of readers' social lives. Taken together, these five approaches provide a means of formulating a textured interpretation of the ways in which readers themselves interpreted *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, as well as the ways in which the magazines' producers situated their publications as part of a national culture that was integrated into the intellectual lives of women across the nation. The success of both magazines, and the importance of the magazines to readers that this success implies, make *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* important artefacts in our understanding of Canada's literary history and the construction of national identity as it was undertaken by this particular element of mass literature. My overall purpose throughout this chapter, then, is to understand the ways in which Canadian identity is intertwined with the readership and reception of *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal*.

Circulating National Identity through National Circulation

Chatelaine and the *Journal* invested themselves in a nationalistic rhetoric that made readers integral to development of Canada's publishing industry and, in turn, to the national culture that publishers helped to circulate. Circulation figures and discussions of who the magazines reached were central to this rhetoric. Indeed, figures were frequently presented in both magazines alongside blurbs proclaiming the growing popularity and national importance of the periodicals. Taken together, these numbers and proclamations represent one of the ways in which Canadian readers and Canadian publishers were treated as two inter-connected and essential elements in the construction of Canada's identity. As I explore below, the discussion of magazine distribution in the 1930s and 1940s constructed a national identity that was not only expressed through the magazines, but also sustained through readers' subscriptions to them.

Pride, achievement, and national identity were all linked together in one of the Maclean Publishing Company's earliest discussions of *Chatelaine*'s distribution. In December 1928, for example, the producers of *Chatelaine* printed a full-page promotional piece (see Figure 7) that announced:

> Canadians Everywhere Are Taking Pride in The Chatelaine's Great Success. Although only 9 months old The Chatelaine already has a NET PAID CIRCULATION of More Than 60,000 copies each issue, and its News-stand and Single Copy sales [are] Ten Times that of any other women's magazine published in Canada. To have launched a new Magazine for Canadian women which has, in this short time, attained a Net Paid Circulation of more than 60,000 copies each issue is an Achievement of which all Canada is justly proud! (57)

The advertisement went on to detail the distribution of the magazine in Canada's nine provinces, with the highest number of subscriptions in Ontario (26 595), followed by

Quebec (7 540), and Alberta (6 322).[11] Very few sales took place outside of Canada (220), demonstrating that the magazine's appeal was limited largely to Canadians. Notably, the promotion addresses itself to "Canadians," making the national identity of *Chatelaine*'s subscribers the foundational category for their identity as readers. Their purchase of a subscription to *Chatelaine*, for its part, served an expression of that identity. Moreover, the emphasis on growth signalled not only the rapidly increasing popularity of the magazine—and therefore its appeal to readers—but also the vitality of national culture, as readers participated in fostering this culture through their reading purchases and practices.

In keeping with this, *Chatelaine* was at pains to announce its perpetual growth over the years. In September 1929, for example, *Chatelaine*'s publishers used a large, bold typeface to note on the magazine's front cover that it had 90 000 subscribers. This number grew to a "circulation [of] more than 150 000 net paid each issue" by May 1932 (front cover), and by *Chatelaine*'s tenth anniversary in March 1938, the periodical had a subscription base of 200 000 (front cover). While these numbers, not to mention the rapid increase in subscriptions to *Chatelaine*, were impressive, the Maclean Publishing Company also maintained that the magazines' number of actual readers was much higher than the subscription lists indicated. Indeed, in an effort to attract advertisers to both *Chatelaine* and *Maclean's*, N. Roy Perry, the advertising manager for the Maclean Publishing Company, commissioned the survey company Canadian Facts Ltd. to find out how many readers per copy there were for *Chatelaine* and *Maclean's*. The results of the survey, which took place in the early 1930s, revealed that each issue of both *Chatelaine* and *Maclean's* was read by an average of three individuals, suggesting that a larger proportion of Canadians were engaged in reading one or both periodicals each month (Barbour 104) than subscriptions alone could indicate. In the 1940s, the number of subscribers—and, presumably, non-subscription readers—continued to increase. As Byrne Hope Sanders noted April 1941, *Chatelaine* was sent out to a quarter-million Canadian homes each month, a fact that she felt gave *Chatelaine* a "responsibility which was second to none" (54) in terms of boosting national morale and educating readers on war-related issues. In assessing the significance of *Chatelaine* to its readers, the increasing subscription figures suggest that the magazine's contents, with their Canadian-centric focus, appealed to readers. *Chatelaine*'s expanding subscription base also suggests that the magazine's producers were in tune with readers' wishes and that its contents did, in fact, offer readers a cultural realm that was important to their daily lives. In effect, the Maclean Publishing Company successfully employed Canadian identity as a marketing strategy. In doing so, its two leading periodicals constructed Canadian readers as a powerful force in fostering Canada's commercial periodicals and, in turn, Canadian culture.

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[11] While the number of subscriptions in Ontario made up nearly half of *Chatelaine*'s subscription base, the percentage of the population subscribing to *Chatelaine* in each province was fairly consistent. For instance, 0.83% of Ontario's population (3.2 million in 1928) subscribed to *Chatelaine*; 0.96% of Alberta's population (658 000 in 1928) subscribed; 0.79% of New Brunswick's population (401 000 in 1928) subscribed. The lowest per centage was, perhaps not surprisingly, in Quebec, which had a population of 2.7 million and a subscription rate of 0.28%. These percentages, then, indicate the relatively equal rates of distribution across Canada as Chatelaine built its nation-wide circulation.

Like *Chatelaine*, the *Canadian Home Journal* announced its subscription figures in prominent letters on its front covers. In August 1928, for example, the *Journal*'s producers stated that the magazine had "over 100 000 net paid subscribers" (front cover). By December 1930, this number had grown to 150 000, and by March 1932 the magazine had 175 000 subscribers, prompting it to proclaim that it had the "largest magazine circulation in Canada" (front cover). The number increased to 225 000 in March 1938 (front cover), and grew to 260 000 by February 1940 ("Twenty-five Years Ago!" Nov. 1940 2), causing its circulation to be nearly tied with that of *Chatelaine*.[12] Listing such figures was a marketing tool in which the choice of several thousand readers to purchase the magazine served as proof of its quality; the sustained growth of the *Journal*'s subscription figures suggests that this was a useful tool. In addition to announcing its own success, the *Journal* collaborated with other magazines in Canada during the 1930s in a marketing campaign that centered on the celebration of Canada's growing periodical distribution. The magazines that participated in this campaign were the *Journal*, *Chatelaine, Maclean's*, *Saturday Night*, and the *National Home Monthly*. As a January 1933 advertisement for all five titles—which ran in all five magazines—declared:

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[12] There are no figures from the 1930s and 1940s that indicate how much subscriptions for the two magazines overlapped, but figures from the late 1950s show that, despite their similarity in content and tone, the two magazines reached two different audiences. In

> The magazines of Canada have shown remarkable growth during the past few years.
>
> The circulation of the five leading magazines of Canada is now more than double what it was just five years ago. And even this remarkable advance in circulation is little more than an indication of the much more important growth of their standing and influence.
>
> For many reasons, national feeling in Canada has become greatly intensified and it finds expression in many ways that were not previously evident. It means that Canadians are prouder than ever of things Canadian, and particularly

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Those Amazing People: the Story of the Canadian Magazine Industry, 1778-1967, Noel F. Barbour (a former adman for the Maclean Publishing Company) explains that when *Chatelaine* bought out the *Journal* in 1958, *Chatelaine* adopted the *Journal*'s subscription list. The new list brought in an additional 326 000 subscribers, causing *Chatelaine*'s subscription base to rise to 779 589. Prior to this, the combined circulations of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* had been 925 000 (453 589 for *Chatelaine*, 471 411 for the *Journal*), meaning that only 16% of the subscriptions were duplicates (143). As outlined in the introduction, the difference in readership appears to stem from the *Journal*'s initial appeal to an Ontario-centric audience and the Christian slant of some of its pieces; *Chatelaine*, in contrast, immediately launched itself to a nation-wide audience and was almost entirely secular in tone.

> of their own magazines which are popular now to a degree entirely unknown a few years ago.
>
> With their enhanced prestige and influence, Canada's magazines have become the national media to an extent not surpassed by the strongest groups of magazines in any other country.
>
> They have won their way in competition with magazines coming into Canada from both the United States and Great Britain. They are rapidly displacing the best of "foreign" magazines because their enterprise and high character appeal to Canada's pride in things purely Canadian. (*Journal* 3)

This announcement put a nationalistic spin on the effects of a 1931 trade law, which imposed an advertising tax on American mass-market magazines if they had more than twenty per cent advertising content. The tax increased the prices of American periodicals like the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, helping to make their Canadian equivalents more appealing to purchasers. The magazine producers, however, attributed the growth in their circulations to a combination of cultural acumen and national pride on the part of readers. Such attribution was flattering not only to readers' egos, but also to the quality of the magazines, as the focus on prestige and influence suggested the superior quality of Canadian publications in relation to their competition as well as the superior judgment of Canadians in supporting their national magazines. The magazines' producers, then, sought to construct a particular type of reader—a discriminating one whose choices contributed to the vitality of their nation—while at the same time celebrating the popular appeal of their magazines to an ever-widening audience of Canadians who could become such discriminating readers through purchasing a subscription.

The promotion also went on to note that the five magazines collectively reached one out of every two homes in Canada, suggesting that half of the nation's citizens were reading at least one of *Chatelaine*, *Canadian Home Journal*, *Saturday Night*, *Maclean's*, and the *National Home Monthly*. In this way, the advertisement made it clear that the prestige they cultivated was not one of exclusivity, but rather the prestige of recognizing high standards in literature and supporting one's own national culture. The implication was simple: if one did not read Canadian mass-market magazines, one was excluding oneself from the imagined community of Canada. The possibility that such self-exclusion might prove harmful, as well as the class politics that underwrote the magazines' definition of the Canadian reading public, is particularly clear in an advertising campaign that the Maclean Publishing Company undertook in the early 1930s. As one of the advertisements from the campaign put it:

> THE CHATELAINE: A MAGAZINE FOR CANADIAN WOMEN
>
> The progress made by THE CHATELAINE since its inception just two years ago is quite the most remarkable thing of its kind ever witnessed in Canadian journalism. In that comparatively short interval, it has, from a standing start, attained a net paid of 120,000.
>
> The quality of homes reached by THE CHATELAINE is reflected by the high type of its editorial contents. These consist of housekeeping articles; entertaining in the home; beauty hints; fashions; The Chatelaine Pattern Service; The Chatelaine Housekeeping Institute and Household Research Bureau; articles of national interest to women, and a generous amount of good quality fiction.
>
> For growth of circulation, for reader interest and for nation-wide influence, these magazines stand pre-eminent. Through their combined circulation, they provide an effective means by which advertisers may reach throughout Canada better than Every Fourth Urban Home. (May 1930 56)

The emphasis on "quality," "the high type of editorial contents," and "every fourth urban home" made it clear that the audience that *Maclean's* and *Chatelaine* wished to cultivate was not simply Canadian, but a city-dwelling, middle-class segment of Canada that was made to stand in for all Canadians. The magazines' producers positioned their periodicals as a site of leadership in and of themselves, with the success of *Maclean's* and *Chatelaine* marking the company's business acumen and savvy intuition of their public's reading tastes. Through this rhetoric, the magazines were defined as a communication medium that reached not so much a national audience, but an national audience of influential and affluent individuals. In turn, the magazines communicated the uses of affluence to its readers, with *Chatelaine* instructing Canadian women on which political and social problems were of national importance and the ways in which one could imagine the social world through "good quality" fiction. Moreover, the magazines offered an education into consumer goods through advertising, and it was advertisers that publishers needed to attract in order to keep their magazines in print. As Valerie Korinek notes, these advertisers "wanted urban, affluent consumers" (69). In the discussions of circulation figures, then, the magazines were not only celebrating their success and appealing to the national pride of readers, but also constructing national identity as an urban, educated, middle-class identity. In doing so, the magazines integrated the "high type" of Canadian culture that they offered with consumerism and the economic and social mobility that were prerequisites for consumption.

As Canada entered the Second World War, discussions of subscriptions, sales, and readers would continue to be important, but these discussions moved away from the melding of middle-class identity and national identity that took place in the 1930s and towards the adoption of a rhetoric of national defence. In April 1941, for example, Byrne Hope Sanders published an editorial in response to the question "What are you doing for the war effort?" (Apr. 1941 54). She began her response by asking "Who Are Our Readers?" and went on to outline the ways in which *Chatelaine*'s readers were central to the nation. In her words:

> We have a particularly important audience. World War I brought women out of their homes into the business world and into community activities. World War II sees them as an army of vast importance to the nation.
>
> They direct the spending of the national incomes.
>
> They achieve remarkable results through their clubs and community organizations.
>
> On them depends the morale of the homes throughout the Dominion.
>
> Specifically, as mothers and wives of our fighting forces—it's vitally important to the nation how they think.
>
> Therefore, with our audience of 250 000 Canadian women, we felt we had a responsibility which was second to none. (54)

In noting *Chatelaine*'s mass audience of a quarter-million subscribers—which, if Perry's survey was accurate, reached a total of 750 000 readers each month—Sanders' editorial sets up an argument for the magazine's significance as a medium for national communication that was crucial to the success of the war effort. In this self-assigned role, *Chatelaine* was capable of not only communicating with readers, but also influencing their ideas and decisions, thereby making *Chatelaine* into a source of wartime morale and national loyalty. According to Sanders, women had a three-fold set of responsibilities: they were responsible for shaping the domestic economy, for contributing to Canada's stability and resilience through volunteer work, and for defining the private lives, not to mention the states of mind, of the individuals within their families. *Chatelaine*, she argued, had both "responsibility and power" (54), as it provided useful information on war-related activities ranging from "shopping to win the War" (54) to volunteering for the Red Cross, to "devot[ing] space every month to arousing sympathy and interest in the War Loans and War Savings Certificate" (54) to fostering a general sense of community and shared purpose. By placing her observations on *Chatelaine*'s readership in the context of wartime demands, Sanders moved away from the promotions of the 1930s, which highlighted the cultural prestige of Canadian magazines as a source of national pride, and towards the generation of a sharply defined nationalism that focused on the contributions women made to the quality of life in Canada. *Chatelaine,* as a result, fostered Canadian nationalism through its discussion of its distribution. Moreover, Sanders' discussion of *Chatelaine*'s readers constructed those readers as intelligent, responsible citizens whose attention to national matters was needed to win the War.

Not surprisingly, the *Journal*'s producers also engaged in nationalist rhetoric when they discussed its distribution. The *Journal*, however, took an approach that was markedly different from Sanders' overt discussion of the importance of magazines to readers' lives. Rather than publishing circulation figures within editorial pieces on the magazine's significance, the *Journal* published individual letters from readers that detailed the unique ways in which the magazine circulated among them. Like N. Roy Perry's survey demonstrating that *Chatelaine* and *Maclean's* reached a wider audience than subscription rates alone indicated, the *Journal*'s publication of such letters emphasized the ways in which the *Journal*'s readership was far more widespread and complex than numbers alone could demonstrate. Indeed, the letters showed that copies of the periodical were passed along after being read by their subscribers, marking both their portability and their relevance to the lives of a wide range of readers who were not tracked by the subscription lists. For example, a letter written by Mrs. A. Allen of Liverpool, England, was published in the April 1944 issue of the *Journal*. Mrs. Allen noted that she received the magazine from her friend, Mrs. Mildred Taylor of Edison Avenue, St. Lambert, Quebec. She, in turn, passed it on to other readers. In the words of Mrs. Allen:

> I received all the editions with unfailing regularity last year. Mr. Hitler didn't manage to deprive me of one—and now I am assured by your Christmas postcard of a further year's supplies. We have very few periodicals in England now, due to both transport and paper difficulties, so my Canadian Home Journal does a huge round and the last place I have track of it is with a friend on a farm in a South Wales Village. It looks a most luxurious periodical to the wartime gaze of the Britisher, and I must admit your food advertisements turn us green with envy—indeed they stupefy us for they seem to be reminders of some bygone form of civilization that once we knew. It's a case of "Though lost to sight, to memory ever dear." I thought perhaps you might like to tell some of your home readers how greatly the warmth, loyalty and generosity of the Canadian people have helped the people of Old England to stand up to this fearful struggle, which so nearly engulfed us all. (2) [13]

She went on to explain that her nephew was serving in Canada, and that the welcome he had received was "almost impossible to register, never mind to recount" (2). She concluded that she, and many others, would "never forget you for all you have been to us both individually and nationally during this dark period" (2). The "you" she referred to may have been Canadians, or it may have been the *Journal*, or it may have been both. Indeed, the letter drew together the *Journal*'s representation of Canada and the readers' experiences with Canadians as one and the same, suggesting the *Journal*'s ability to accurately represent Canadians both to themselves and to non-Canadians.

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[13] The *Journal* sent out Christmas postcards each year, thanking subscribers for their support and previewing the contents of the next year's issues.

As a cultural entity engaged in such representations, the *Journal*'s publication of this letter also participated in the ongoing construction of Canadian identity. Notably, Mrs. Allen described Canada as a nation that had maintained its "civilization" where England had been ground down by economic desperation and sustained violence. This civility had both material and ethical elements. Canada was viewed, even in the midst of the War, as a land of prosperity and relative stability. Cultural materials (like periodicals) and good food were readily available, and they struck Mrs. Allen as a luxurious reminder of a bygone era. Her letter effectively situated Canada as a nation responsible for maintaining the values and material life of "civilization" while these things were under threat in Europe. Canadians themselves were warm, loyal, and generous, and these qualities had helped sustain both individuals and nations during the "fearful struggle." In this way, the letter was a personal statement that demonstrated the effects of Canadian contributions to the war effort. That is, it made the work that both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* asked of Canadian women (discussed in detail in Chapter Five) appear both meaningful and imperative by revealing how an act as simple as passing along a magazine could boost morale and improve individual, everyday life. The *Journal*, for its part, was the printed object that offered such improvement. Like Canadians, it was in the service of both the Canadian nation and the nations with which Canada was allied during the War. The letter from Mrs. A. Allen, then, portrayed a significant aspect of the *Journal*'s circulation, and the letter's publication in the *Journal* made it possible for the magazine to showcase its widespread appeal. Moreover, the letter spoke to the *Journal*'s contributions to the war effort, thus giving the *Journal* the chance to construct its Canadian readership as patriotic, prosperous, and generous while in turn constructing itself as a magazine dedicated to patriotic service.

The discussions of circulation and readership that took place within the magazines mark their sustained growth between 1928 and 1945, with such growth indicating the popular appeal of the magazines to an ever-increasing number of readers. In the 1930s, promotional campaigns tied these growing circulation figures together with a rhetoric of national pride. Canadian readers were celebrated for their support of national periodicals. Moreover, the high quality of these periodicals was lauded as a signal of readers' discernment and good taste, thus making the Canadian reader coterminous with the reader as an educated member of the "influential" class. Such treatment of Canadians readers was connected to advertisers' desires to reach an audience with disposable income, causing magazines to make commodity consumption an element of the identity that they promoted. In the 1940s, the discussion of magazine circulation moved away from this construction of Canadians, adopting instead patriotic rhetoric in relation to the magazines' widespread appeal. *Chatelaine* chose to highlight the ways in which periodical literature helped women win the War; the *Journal* showed the ways in which the magazine embodied Canadian character and values. Circulation figures, then, were never presented as mere numbers. Rather, numbers were put in the service of constructing readers as Canadian citizens who invested in their nation's pride and patriotism through their monthly investment in Canadian periodical literature.

Reading Practices and the Materiality of the Text

Where discussions of circulation posited that the magazines' readership consisted of prestigious, patriotic Canadians who expressed their national identity through their reading choices, the material quality of the magazines themselves offers another way of understanding their readership. The importance of the materiality of the text in understanding the transmission of meaning has been taken up by Jerome McGann in *The Textual Condition*. He articulates a relationship between a printed work's "conceptual message" (77) and its "physical medium" (77). He identifies these two aspects as "a double helix of perceptual codes: the linguistic codes, on one hand, and the bibliographic code on the other" (77). The linguistic code includes a work's formal use of language and its possible meanings; in terms of reception, the linguistic code is the effect that a text has on the reader's mind. The bibliographic code consists of the work's printed nature, including its paper, binding, typography, and visual design; the bibliographic code is the impact that a text has on the reader's senses. Such a classification echoes the

Cartesian separation of body and mind, and it is a separation that, according to McGann, limits the complexity of our understanding of texts. Opposing these constraints, he argues that "all texts, like all other things human, are embodied phenomena, and the body of the text is not exclusively linguistic. By studying texts through a distinction drawn between linguistic and bibliographic codes, we gain at once a more global and a more uniform view of texts and the processes of textual production" (13). He calls this approach to critical study "material hermeneutics" (15).

The importance of material hermeneutics in reconstructing readerships has been explored by Cathy Davidson in her work on eighteenth-century American novels. She argues that the "seemingly non-literary considerations" of the text as a material object in fact "suggest the scope and nature of a particular work's use and appeal, the interpretive community to which the work appealed, how its appeal illuminates the sociological context in which it takes place, and how all of these factors together can contribute to a history of texts, an archaeology of reading" (6). Moreover, by considering books—or magazines—as printed objects as well as literary works we gain "clues to at least the intended audience of books (and perhaps the actual audience since early publishers, as much as present ones, had to know their market to survive)" (62). By the same token, Canadian magazine publishers had to know both their demographics and their readers' tastes in order to stay in print. The success of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* throughout the 1930s and 1940s suggests that they understood who made up their audience and were able to gauge the best ways in which to appeal to that audience through not only the texts and images contained on the pages of the magazines, but also through the physical design of the magazines.

One of the most immediate features of any printed work is its size and portability. Printed as folios, both the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* had large eleven-by-fourteen inch formats that made them awkward to carry yet easy to read if they were opened on a coffee table or kitchen counter. In this way, the format of the magazines immediately signalled their place within the home, thus physically fitting them together with the domestic focus of their contents. In keeping with this, the place of periodicals within the home surfaced in the portrayal of magazine reading as it was presented on the pages of the magazines themselves. In January 1935, for instance, the *Journal* ran an advertisement for its Home Service Bureau on the inside back cover of the issue (see Figure 8). The advertisement featured a photograph of a young woman pouring coffee in a kitchen. The *Journal* lay open on the counter before her, its large pages spilling over the counter's edge and its glossy images somewhat visible even to the external reader of the advertisement. The photographed woman's engagement with the magazine was evident in the way her index finger pointed to the line of text she was reading in the midst of an ordinary domestic activity. Beneath the photograph, the advertisement read "Our Home … and Yours," and went on to explain that the Home Service Bureau was set in a simulated household in which its "housekeepers" were able to meet "as you do" and work out the "problems of meals and cleaning and laundering and entertaining" (inside back cover) on a day-to-day basis. In this way, the advertisement suggested that it was produced in a home and then sent out to other homes, making it an object that was completely immersed in the domestic sphere from production through to reception. Appropriately, then, the magazine was portrayed as a material object that belonged in the home, comfortably positioned on a kitchen counter and easily read by women at work there.

In a slightly different vein, the cover of the inaugural issue of *Chatelaine* in 1928 focused on magazine reading as a leisure activity. The cover shows a young woman seated in a comfortable chair in a space that is, presumably, her home. The large pages of the magazine open out into two graceful arcs that merge with the sweeping folds of her dress, suggesting the elegant blending of *Chatelaine* into the woman's daily life. Two children were also featured on the cover, one of whom looked over the woman's arm as she read while another played at her feet. Both children appear content, though unattended, as the reader appears completely engrossed in her reading. Such imagery attested to the enthralling nature of reading periodical literature, not to mention its potential to provide a satisfying escape from domestic responsibilities even as the practice of reading took place in a domestic environment.

The presence of the magazines within the home also played out in terms of their distribution. While the advantage of subscriptions for publishers lay in being able to predict print-runs on one hand, and demonstrating reader demographics to advertisers on the other, the effect of a subscription on the reader lay in the generation of a feeling of domestic-based intimacy. *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* were designed to be delivered directly to the home of the reader, rather than purchased at newsstands (like the pulp magazines of the era) or in bookstores (like novels or other types of books). This made the inclusion of the magazine in a given household effortless, as the reader did not have to seek out the publication, thus contributing to the appeal of the magazines as objects of leisure. At the same time, the delivery of the periodicals to the home of the reader correlated nicely with the friendly, intimate style of the magazines' manner of addressing readers. Byrne Hope Sanders, as I have argued in Chapter One, was particularly invested in addressing readers as if she was writing letters to a friend or hosting a nation-wide party. Her editorial style fed into the sense that the magazine's arrival was the arrival of a friend at one's home, making reading into a domestic activity through which the social bonds among Canadian women were fostered.

Further to this, the magazines asked women to make use of these bonds with other women in helping to distribute the magazine—that is, readers were routinely asked to purchase gift subscriptions for their friends and relatives. Viewed from a cynical vantage, this request made readers into an unpaid workforce whose work helped to distribute the magazine and so increase the profits of producers without offering these readers financial recompense. Indeed, the recompense the magazines proffered was an entirely emotional one, as readers could bask in the appreciation that such a gift would garner from friends. As an advertisement for gift subscriptions (see Figure 9) in the November 1936 issue of the *Journal* put it:

> Christmas shopping may be quickly done—and well done—when you use "Canadian Home Journal" gift subscriptions to convey your good wishes. There is not a friend, a relative, or a neighbor, who will not appreciate such a present. It is a gift which will last throughout the year, bringing every member of the family, every month, new pleasure and help. (78)

Two images appear alongside this text. One image shows an issue of the *Journal* partially tucked into a Christmas box, ready to be delivered as a gift; the other image shows a woman unwrapping the box and gazing at the issue while the other gifts around her go ignored. The text beneath the gift-box images then asked readers:

> can't you imagine how you yourself would enjoy receiving a colorful gift box of striking design, from the postman, just before Christmas day? A delightful gift in itself, a "Journal" gift subscription is given the "finishing touch" by this box. (79)

The gift box highlighted the materiality of the magazine as an object and subsequently granted that object a gracious, generous quality. This graciousness subsequently surfaced in the discussion of the ways in which magazines should be read—for pleasure, help, and delight—as they were articulated by the publishers.

The question of money also surfaces in the advertisement, a fact that speaks to another type of materiality and its relationship to reading practices. While individual copies of the magazine were already quite inexpensive—ten cents per copy—a one-year subscription only cost one dollar, and three gift subscriptions could be purchased for one dollar and seventy-five cents.[14] The magazines, for all the attention paid to their natural place in the home (the *Journal*'s advertisement for its Home Service Bureau), elegance as an object of leisure (*Chatelaine*'s inaugural cover), and thoughtfulness as a gift (the *Journal*'s advertisements for gift subscriptions), were nonetheless an economical literary purchase. In contrast, the *Journal*'s 1931 review of W. Somerset Maugham's *Cakes and Ale* noted that the price of the book was $2.50 (38), while the Maclean Publishing Company promoted a series of reference books called *The Makers of Canada* in *Chatelaine*, noting that the cost for all twelve books in the series was $25.00. In either case, the price of one book was twice as much as the price of a magazine subscription which, as the magazine publishers often pointed out in their advertisements, offered a year's worth of fiction, news, and practical advice. The *Journal* and *Chatelaine*, then, negotiated between their claims to prestige and influence, as these qualities were celebrated in the discussions surrounding circulation figures, and their actual price, which made them inexpensive, and therefore less prestigious, objects within the context of their contemporary print culture.

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[14] In 2007, the equivalent value of one copy of the magazine (ten cents) is $1.54; a one-year subscription is worth $15.44; three gift subscriptions would cost $27.02.

Both magazines further distanced themselves from being classified as cheap items through the nature of their contents. These were always focused on the needs of middle-class women; at the same time, the paper on which the magazines were printed was, in itself, a factor in their cultivation of middle-class readers. Slick, glossy paper stock was used to print not only the Canadian magazines *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, but also their American competitors like the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping*. These pages enabled magazines to print colourful images that lent themselves to advertising; in turn, the heavy advertising in the magazines contributed to the construction of a consumer class. In his work on American mass-market magazines at the turn of the twentieth century, Richard Ohmann observes that the national distribution of such magazines, paired with the consumerism that they purveyed, helped make commodity consumption central to middle-class identity (117). In Canada, three decades later, this same principle can be seen at work in the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*, as advertisements portray youthful women with apparent disposable income employing a range of consumer goods in every aspect of their daily lives.

The layout of the magazines' pages also inform the ways in which the magazines could be read. While the first fifteen to twenty pages of each magazine were dedicated solely to the presentation of the beginnings of both fiction and non-fiction works, the latter pages of each magazine consisted of interwoven columns of print and images. The printed columns, which continued the works begun in the first fifteen to twenty pages, broke these works into discontinuous fragments that were spread out over several pages. At the same time, the columns of fiction and articles appeared alongside advice columns and the images and texts in the advertisements. While the cookery pages often received the same full-page or double-page treatment as the fiction, these pages were essentially fragmented as well, as the recipes and advice they offered consisted of short bursts of print that outlined ingredients and instructions for different recipes. As a result, the pages of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* were spaces that each reader had to navigate selectively in order to locate and read the pieces of her choosing.

Such layout suggests two key things about the ways in which the magazines may have been read. First, the short fragments of text suggest that reading took place as a fragmented activity that was integrated into the other activities of the readers' daily life. Reflecting on her mother's magazine-reading habits, Janice Winship observes that:

> at odd moments in this many-faceted and disrupted [household] routine she would snatch the time to escape into her *Woman's Weekly*. At other times *Woman's Weekly* would deliver "the recipe" or the answer to a stubborn stain. Women's magazines provide for these rhythms and routines of women's lives in which private time and space are precious, work and leisure merge, activities overlap, and dreams and escape often feed on a modest vocabulary of everyday possibilities. (13)

Interestingly, the many-faceted and disrupted household that Winship describes echoes the many-faceted and disrupted quality of magazine design. The piecemeal quality of this design lends itself to discontinuous reading. The page layout of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*, then, suggests that magazine reading was integrated into domestic work, and that it was presumed to require less concentration than novels or other less fractured works. Moreover, the different contents, some of which are enjoyable and some of which are practical, engage the reader in different types of reading. The reader, for her part, is free to choose from the different possibilities for reading according to her desires or the other demands on her attention.

Magazine design also reveals a tension between the magazines' producers' efforts to engage readers with texts that they might choose to discount and ignore and the readers' power to read in a highly selective and idiosyncratic fashion. According to Ellen McCracken, "covert advertising" (63) is one of the key ways in which magazine advertisers use the fragmented quality of magazine pages to serve their own ends. She defines covert advertising as "a system of mutually sustaining techniques and themes that link the editorial material to purchased advertising. While varying in degrees of concealment, covert advertisements always attempt in some way to mislabel or disguise themselves as non-advertising material" (63). This concealment, she argues, disenfranchises readers by drawing them into a network of advertorial content even if they attempt to focus on exclusively on editorial content. McCracken goes on to identify "adjacency" as one of the most powerful forms of covert advertising. Adjacency involves placing advertisements for a product alongside an article or advice column that dovetails with that product. Arguably, it is a marketing strategy that makes advertising inseparable from other forms of magazine content at the level of page design and magazine layout.

While *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* were printed several decades before McCracken's study of women's magazines in the 1980s, both periodicals make extensive use of adjacency, suggesting that the reader-centric quality to which Sanders, in particular, laid claim was in tension with producer-centric advertising practices. The advice offered by both the *Journal*'s Home Service Bureau and the Chatelaine Institute, for instance, made extensive use of adjacency. To use the November 1936 issue of the *Journal* as a representative copy of the magazines, this issue used full-page advertisements for Magic Baking Powder, Eagle Brand Sweetened Condensed Milk, Heinz Cooked Spaghetti, Maxwell House Coffee, and Five Roses Flour that were interspersed with recipes for holiday cakes, pork (chops, ribs, roast, tenderloin), and a variety of sandwiches, salads, and desserts (see Figure 10). Such placement occurred in most issues and in most sections of both magazines: advertisements for Wabasso Cotton and Korticelli Wool appeared in the pages for fashion and patterns, advertisements for Castoria and Johnson's baby powder appeared in the childcare section, and advertisements of Pond's lotions and Woodbury soaps appeared alongside beauty columns. That said, adjacency was not always at work in the magazine, and the combination of advertisements with fiction or articles could create some jarring clashes in content. A half-page advertisement for Fleischmann's Fresh Yeast in the November 1936 issue of the *Journal*, for instance, appeared beneath a half-page printing of Louis Arthur Cunningham's "Fog Over Fundy," but it is doubtful that Cunningham's stormy Acadian romance story had much to do with the health benefits of eating yeast (see Figure 11). Such a clash in content demonstrates that there were gaps in the presentation of advertisements alongside other forms of content. McCracken's analysis of covert advertising reminds us that glossy mass-market magazines aggressively market goods to their readers, and that the producers of these magazines have a great deal of control over the design of their magazines through which they can manipulate readers without readers even being aware of the ways in which their reading practices are being defined. Yet, the layout of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* show that covert advertising, while it was used, was not always effectively used. McCracken's assessment of mass-market magazines also denies readers much control over their own responses to the magazines they read, thus neglecting to account for the fact that women choose to read magazines and that the process of reading itself consists of a further series of choices through which readers select and evaluate the contents of magazines. It may also be argued, then, that the fragmented structure of magazines in fact lends itself to such selective reading. As the layout of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* mixed diverse contents together on any given page, they effectively put those contents in competition with each other. The reader, as a result, is able to choose which elements of the contents win her attention.

Later in this chapter, I take up a series of letters from readers that illuminate the ways in which *Chatelaine* was read in a range of different ways by a range of different readers. For the moment, I would only like to note that these letters sometimes reveal readers' agency in attending to the contents that interested them and in critiquing contents that they disliked. A letter from Mrs. M.M., B.C., for instance, describes her enjoyment of the magazine while indicating that she differentiated between advertising content and editorially-driven content. She explained that she had spent the afternoon and evening reading *Chatelaine* on the day it arrived in the post, and concluded with the remark "I was looking through it carefully for the third time to see if I'd missed anything—even in the advertisements!" (Apr. 1934 88). While the letter does show that Mrs. M.M. took up the advertising in her reading, the letter also shows that she did so self-consciously, and only on her third reading of the magazine. For this reason, her letter suggests that she sorted the contents of the magazine into a hierarchy in which advertising was the least important element of the magazine. Readers also wrote to the magazine to express their sometimes critical opinions on the *Chatelaine*'s contents. One reader, for instance, complained that a fashion segment called "Fashion Shorts," which was introduced in 1934, was "slangy … flippant, careless, and shallow" (A.E.K., Montreal Apr. 1934 88), and that *Chatelaine* would do well to drop it. Other readers loved the new segment, and wrote the magazine to say so. These disagreements mark the ways in which different readers interpreted the same contents; more importantly, the willingness of readers to vocalize their reactions to the magazine indicate that they read the magazines carefully and that they often articulated these reactions. These critical assessments, as I discuss in Chapters Three and Four, were particularly pronounced in regard to the fiction that *Chatelaine* published, as fiction was one of the most commonly discussed facets the magazines' contents.

These instances of readers' entry into the magazine, and the articulation of the process of reading the magazine that they represent, exemplify de Certeau's argument that readers are "poachers" who read selectively and in a manner that serves their own ends. Moreover, readers bring their own experiences, mentalities, and intentions to the texts that they read. As de Certeau remarks, the reader:

> insinuates into another person's text the ruses of pleasure and appropriation: he poaches on it, is transported into it, pluralizes himself in it like the internal rumblings of one's body. Ruse, metaphor, arrangement, this production of silent histories. [...] A different world (the reader's) slips into the author's place. (xxi)

In an investigation of the extent to which readers make popular texts their own, Dawn Currie interviewed a group of young women read and interpreted the "teenzines" targeted at them. Her research indicated that readers do indeed compare the articles and advertisements in them to their lived experiences to determine if these texts are truly valid, and they reject as invalid texts that do not accurately represent their experiences. That said, the contents of magazines that fall outside of readers' experience do not tend to receive the same critical evaluation, resulting in the readers' acceptance of the text as accurate (117-120). *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, with their large, slick-paper format, home delivery, and fragmented page design invited readers to interpret their contents in particular ways. Each of these facets of the magazines suggest different ways in which women's magazine reading was conceptualized by producers, and the popularity of the magazines suggest that producers' conceptualizations appealed to readers. Responses to the structure of magazines, however, were highly individual and idiosyncratic, as the records that readers left of their reading practices through letters indicate their agency over their interpretation of the text.

Representing Readers to Themselves

Before moving into a discussion of reception as it was articulated by readers through the letters that they wrote, I would like to review the ways in which readers were constructed in the images and texts of the magazines. Much has been written on the portrayal of women in mass-market magazines, with the construction of gender and class being the focus of this writing, but it must be remembered that much of this writing focuses on American magazines. As Valerie Korinek's research on *Chatelaine*'s promotion of feminism in the fifties and sixties shows, the assumption that the conclusions drawn from studies of American magazines apply to Canadian periodicals and their readers leads to "completely inaccurate" (11) assumptions about Canadian women's mass-market magazines. While I argue that the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*, in the 1930s and 1940s, did in fact construct middle-class femininity in ways that overlapped with American constructions, the magazines' insistent focus on national identity caused these constructions to become uniquely Canadian.

The representation of female readers to themselves took shape in different, and sometimes conflicting, ways in the different departments and features of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*. The expectations that women were primarily wives and mothers who were dependent on men, and that they were society's caregivers and consumers, emerged largely in the magazines' illustrations, advertising, advice columns, and, at times, fiction. Through these departments, the magazines typically represented women to themselves as slender, youthful, attractive, urban and middle-class, devoted to their husbands and homes, and in possession of the leisure time and disposable income necessary to purchase the consumer goods displayed in the magazines. Questions of women's education, political agency, or economic independence were left out of this construction—the focus was on, in Betty Friedan's words, "the feminine mystique." Friedan argued in her 1963 analysis of then-contemporary American mass-market magazines that women were portrayed as frivolous, passive, and subservient to men. Her argument, despite being penned in response to an American magazine published several decades after the issues of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* in question here, resonates with some elements of both magazines.

The emphasis on love and romance, the treatment of youthful, pretty women as the ideal, and the connection between femininity and consumerism were apparent in most issues of the magazines, with the front and back covers often providing the most striking visual examples of this treatment. The December 1940 issue of *Chatelaine*, for example, was literally "wrapped" in the image of women that Friedan describes (see Figure 12). The cover illustration portrayed an attractive young woman embracing a man in uniform. She gazed up not at him, but at the engagement ring she held up behind his back with one hand, and at the little card with the word "love" written upon it in her other hand. The back cover of the magazine was an advertisement for "Community Plate" silver that showed four images of thin, elegantly dressed women painted beside four different cutlery designs labelled "Forever," "Milady," "Lady Hamilton," and "Coronation" (see Figure 13). The cover suggested that happiness for women lay primarily in love and marriage, and that women were dependent on men to provide this happiness through a marriage proposal. As the purchase of china patterns and silverware was a typical part of wedding preparations, the advertisement on the back cover carried through the "narrative" of the marriage proposal set out on the cover, tying together women's happiness with household goods. The images and labels of the four women (and their silverware patterns), for their part, generated a series of aristocratic words and images. This fed into the class politics of the magazines which, as noted in Chapter One, were geared towards upward social mobility and self-improvement. Purchasing the right silverware, the advertisement suggested, reflected one's middle-class status as well as an appropriate degree of femininity.

This connection between femininity and consumerism as it has been constructed in women's magazines has been scrutinized by Helen Damon-Moore in her research on the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Launched in 1883, the *Ladies' Home Journal* was the first mass-market magazine in the United States to reach a circulation of one million. A hugely successful periodical, the contents and style of which were similar to those of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*, the *Ladies' Home Journal* was one of the key magazines to address women as consumers on a mass scale. The effect of this address, Damon-Moore argues, was one in which "thoughtful and prescriptive discussions of gender were surrounded by advertisements. Advertisements themselves often conveyed gender prescriptions and made femininity and consuming [appear] natural" (106). Moreover, "rather than treating consuming as a cultural activity, it became women's primary occupation, as essential as being a wife and mother" (106). Jennifer Scanlon, in her study of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, concurs, noting:

> The magazine offered readers what Frederic Jameson calls mass culture's "compensatory exchange," gratification in exchange for passivity. Women found a voice for many of their interests, longings, and complaints, but in exchange they accepted a definition of womanhood tied to the home and divorced from politics. [...] The consumer culture presented a unified and powerful vision of satisfaction not through social change but through consumption. (230)

Consumption, in this assessment, defused women's potential agency, while magazines served as the communication medium through which consumption was proffered as a gratifying compensation for the limitations inherent to the type of femininity prescribed in the magazine.

That magazines participated wholly in constructing such a prescriptive gender role is an idea that has been challenged by Joanne Meyerowitz. She reviewed the non-fiction articles of a wide cross-section of American women's magazines from the years 1946 to 1958, arguing that "domestic ideals coexisted in ongoing tension with an ethos of individual achievement that celebrated non-domestic activity, individual striving, public service, and public success" (231). Such a conclusion suggests that women's magazines contain contradictory constructions of women. Valerie Korinek's *Roughing It in the Suburbs* further pursues these contradictions, arguing that "rather subversively [...] those giddy, girlish *Chatelaine* covers and the mindless consumption encouraged by the advertisements both paid for and masked the serious articles and editorials that made the magazine required reading in the fifties and sixties" (177). *Chatelaine* was, according to Korinek "required reading" because its feminist content in fact challenged the traditional constructions of women built into mass-market magazines and helped popularize second-wave feminism in Canada.

During the Depression and the War, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* did not publish the overtly feminist pieces that *Chatelaine* would take up in the future, but they did offer women an identity as Canadians that could either challenge or work in tandem with the construction of femininity. To return briefly to the fiction taken up in Chapter One, it is worth noting here that Canadian women were represented in a variety of ways, many of which challenged prescribed gender roles. For instance, Marika Brenzova in "Spring Always Comes" is a refugee from Europe who fled the Second World War. Prior to her flight, the story hints that she led an essentially leisured, and even sheltered, life. Her immigration to Canada requires that she re-invent herself as a self-reliant, hard-working, and compassionate individual as she devotes herself to building a new life for herself, her family, and her neighbours in Canada. In this way, her re-fashioning of herself is tied to her immersion in her new nation, thus tying together Canadian identity with qualities of independence and self-determination that diverge from the "mindless consumption" that marked other aspects of the magazines. Isabel, from the story "Trial by Thunder" is, in many ways, the polar opposite of Marika. She is Canadian-born, independently wealthy, and unmarried. She is not a wife and mother, nor is she interested in becoming one. Her independence and freedom of mobility are integral to her personal identity, and her representation in the story as a Canadian citizen who has returned from abroad presented another way of imagining a Canadian identity for women that resisted traditional gender expectations. Last, Bionde Lacasse from the story "Light Was Her Laughter" is a woman who is capable of creating her own destiny through her talent and skill as a figure skater—and, as a result, of representing the Canadian nation to the rest of the world. In this way, Bionde's identity is not so much defined by the nation, but representative of it. These three figures, then, suggest the multi-faceted possibilities for women to re-imagine their lives that were offered in the magazine fiction.

Similarly, the non-fiction articles taken up in Chapter One also portray Canadian women in ways that diverge from prescribed gender norms. More often than not, this divergence is connected to the Canadian nation and the ways in which it shaped women's lives. Luta Murphy and her sled dogs, for example, is a figure who adapted herself well to the isolation and harsh climate of the arctic. While the article she wrote acknowledges that she lives in the arctic because of her husband's work as an RCMP officer (who is, therefore, an employee of the nation-state), thus positioning her as dependent on her husband, the article also marks her as a decidedly un-urban non-consumer whose travels with sled dogs clashed with the representations of women comfortably ensconced in the home. Constance Templeman's interview with the world president of the YWCA, Jonkvrouwe Cornelia van Asch van Wyck, may not have been with a Canadian woman, but it nonetheless suggested the political agency of women and the potential for leadership and success that defied traditional expectations for women. Moreover, this representation of leadership was bound up with questions of nations and nationalism in that much of the interview focused on the question of peace, and the potential for women to foster peace, both within their own nations and among different nations.

As these pieces suggest, the combined opportunities and responsibilities of both fictitious and actual women as they were portrayed in the magazines made Canada integral to the editorial focus of both the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*. One last, and particularly striking example of this treatment can, I think, stand in for the many ways in which the magazines addressed women as Canadian citizens. In the June 1943 issue of *Chatelaine*, Alice Hemmings reported on the "Women's School for Citizenship." Located in Vancouver, the school had been founded by a group of housewives. They organized the school's purpose and course offerings and they recruited students for the programs they offered. These programs included seminars and lectures on economics and legislation, as well as trips to "courts, provincial prisons, the city hall, and similar institutions, to see how the public sector functions" (42). Similar schools had been formed in Winnipeg and Victoria at the time of the article's printing, and Hemmings encouraged women across Canada to consider founding still more schools in their communities. The article not only stressed women's responsibilities to their local communities and to the nation as a whole, but also emphasized women's agency in educating themselves and entering the public sector where they might otherwise have been excluded. While the piece did not challenge the women's social position as housewives, it explored one way in which women could work within—and possibly against—that role as a form of responsibility to their nation. Such pieces represented women to themselves as important contributors to the Canadian nation and, in doing so, generated a Canadian identity for women that melded the responsibilities of citizenship to more traditional gender expectations.

Further to this, the practice of reading articles such as "The Women's School for Citizenship" engaged the reader in a practice that, in itself, made one a better Canadian. The advice and information that the magazines offered in these pieces, not to mention the inspiration that these pieces were intended to provoke, all worked to make readers into intelligent voters and community leaders in ways that left the roles of women as wives and mothers intact. Reading was a private activity that was shown to take place in the home, yet it fed into a communal purpose that was grounded in nation-building. As Sanders once put it, *Chatelaine* ought to provide "entertainment and instruction, romantic fiction and inspiring articles" (Feb. 1930 16). If it failed to do so, then the magazine was failing its readership. This service included supplying a mixture of practical information and political news, with *Chatelaine*—and the *Journal*—publishing advice (such as instructions on cooking dinner), interviews with politically active women (such as the world president of the YWCA), and discussions of self-education and community involvement (such as the piece on the Women's School for Citizenship). Moreover, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* both sought to educate women on contemporary life in Canada in a way that situated readers' work as wives, mothers, paid employees, and volunteers as activities that were central to nation-building and responsible citizenship.

Reception and the Self-Representation of Readers

How did readers themselves discuss the practice and significance of magazine reading in their daily lives? *Chatelaine* made a point of publishing letters from readers in an effort to answer just that question. The *Journal*, for its part, rarely published letters from readers, suggesting a greater distance between the *Journal*'s editorial department and reader involvement than the one generated by *Chatelaine*.[15] For that reason, this section focuses on the ways in which *Chatelaine* constructed its readership through the publication of letters to the editor. Between 1928 and 1945, the periodical published and an abundance of such letters. Taken together, these letters reveal details about the economic and social backgrounds of many readers, the geographic distribution of the magazine, and the ways in which *Chatelaine* was read by both individuals and whole communities. The letters express readers' responses to *Chatelaine* and, in some instances, readers' perceptions of Canadian identity, Chatelaine's relationship to that identity, and the role of women in the nation. In this way, readers entered the pages of the magazine in ways that not only contributed to its contents, but also expressed the bond between print culture and national community as it was perceived by readers.

There are, however, a few important caveats to bear in mind when interpreting letters from readers. Kathryn Shevelow, in her work on eighteenth-century women's periodicals in Britain, notes that the question of authenticity is always at stake in the study of letters published in periodicals. As she observes, "a periodical's publication of letters ostensibly written by readers raises (as in modern examples) the vexed question of authenticity: were the letters the genuine work of readers, or were they editorial fabrications?" (37). While she cites the volume and variety of correspondence in eighteenth-century periodicals, as well as the survival of manuscript letters as proof of authenticity, she concludes that

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[15] This distance suggests that the *Journal* sought to be a more authoritative, and less communal, magazine than *Chatelaine*. As the editorial by Margaret Lawrence discussed in Chapter One demonstrates, editors at the *Journal* were more likely to opine and, in the end, tell readers what do in life that *Chatelaine* editors were. The difference in readership that this implies is inconclusive, although it suggests two key possibilities for the divergence in readership. First, *Chatelaine*'s readers may have been less conservative than those at the *Journal*, and therefore more likely to dislike an authoritative tone and, in turn, be more willing to venture their own opinions; second, *Chatelaine*'s readers may have been located in more remote regions than those of the *Journal* and therefore in greater need of a forum for discussion.

> the question of authenticity is impossible to resolve completely. Nor, for the purposes of this study, is it necessary to do so. […] Whether or not the letters published in the early periodicals were written by "actual" readers, they were represented as the work of the periodical's readership: the appearance of reader participation was one of the most important components of the periodical's attempts to collect and define a new audience, to project an image of a community of readers mutually engaged in the production of the text. (38)

Despite being produced in a different country for different readers some two centuries later, the letters in *Chatelaine* engage in this same process of projecting an image of community and embodying reader participation in the production of the text. Moreover, the variety of letters in *Chatelaine*, written in different styles and expressing diverse and some times conflicting opinions suggest that the letters were authentic.

The problem of an uneven power relationship between readers and publishers must also be kept in mind. As Shevelow acknowledges, the publication of letters is always informed by the power of the editor to select some letters for publication while dismissing others or, alternately, truncating letters and embedding them within overarching narratives, such as editorials or didactic essays, in ways that can alter or even subvert the intentions of the letter-writer (92). Ellen McCracken, in her study of women's mass-market magazines of the late twentieth century, takes the tensions caused by this uneven distribution of power further, arguing that magazines participate in an "immensely unequal power relation" (301) between publishers and readers, and that "readers have little input into the monthly representations that claim to be about their lives, notwithstanding publishers' acute awareness of the demographics of readers and the target audiences' probable receptivity to various representations" (301). If this is the case, magazines are an essentially exploitive medium that leave readers little agency over the ways in which they, as readers, are configured. As the letters I take up in this section show, this was not the case with *Chatelaine*. Rather, the letters portray a broad range of lifestyles and economic circumstances among readers. While the letters certainly do not provide in-depth discussion of these facets of readers' lives, the skill with which many readers constructed themselves in their letters speaks to both their powers of self-representation and the differences that these representations show between readers' lives and the portrayal of those lives in, for instance, *Chatelaine*'s advertisements.

The attention that *Chatelaine* paid to readers' letters also entailed an attention to readers' desires, and a willingness on the part of editors to listen to readers and stay in touch with their needs and interests. Such attention is, of course, crucial to the survival of magazines. If periodicals do not cater to their readers' interests, they risk losing those readers and potentially going out of business. Moreover, readers are not as disenfranchised as McCracken would have them be. As Valerie Korinek points out, such an interpretation of readers:

> positions [them] as the helpless pawns of the editors and, ultimately, big business. It fails to acknowledge that reading a magazine, watching television, or consuming other types of popular culture involve the reader in making a series of choices. Readers choose to purchase or subscribe to a magazine, select what they read, and bring their own experiences and interests to interpreting the material. (11)

In keeping with this, the letters in *Chatelaine* demonstrate the ways in which individual readers engaged in the practice of reading the magazine and, subsequently, wrote about this engagement. The letters also situate reading as a lived experience that takes place within the context of other lived experiences, revealing the ways in which readers actively interpreted the various texts in *Chatelaine* in relation to their individual lives.

The letters that I take up here are drawn from *Chatelaine*'s 1934 feature "The Last Word: Our Readers Have It." This feature consisted of one full page devoted entirely to letters from readers. It ran for eleven months, from February 1934 to December 1934. Surprisingly, Sanders did not comment on either its inception or its disappearance. The absence of such pages from other issues does not mean that letters from readers were excluded; rather, letters were included in editorials, a section called "Foreword and Footnotes" (which previewed the contents of each new issue and reviewed the contents of previous issues), and the sporadic appearance of a letters-to-the-editor page from 1944 that was called "Back Chat." Among this wealth of material, I focus on "The Last Word: Our Readers Have It" for two reasons. First, the devotion of an entire page to writing submitted by readers gives a coherence to that writing that is disrupted when letters are included in editorial and other features. While it is likely that many letters for publication were excerpts selected by the editors, there are few editorial comments in "The Last Word." Rather, the letters are set out as a semi-independent forum for readers' opinions and ideas, giving readers a degree of autonomy within the magazine. Indeed, the use of the title "The Last Word: Our Readers Have It," emphasizes *Chatelaine*'s positioning of readers as central to the production of the magazine and independent of its editorial purview. The title is also a play on words, as "The Last Word" consistently appeared on the last page of the magazine. While this might have made readers appear unimportant, the placement of the page in this manner actually created a narrative arc between the editorial address, which appeared on page two, and the responses of readers. Ostensibly, readers did have the proverbial "last word" in relation to Sanders' launch of each issue. My second reason for honing in on "The Last Word" is that it is the only instance of letters being published in a cogent and continuous fashion over a period of several months. As a result, readers wrote back and forth to one another, and discussions of a particular article or short story could be sustained over three or four months. The letters from this period, then, lend themselves to a nuanced understanding of how readers related to the magazine and to each other, as well as how they used the magazine as a forum for communication that connected a national network of readers.

This national network was grounded in the identification of the location from which readers wrote. In conjunction with this form of identification, published letters were typically signed with either initials or pseudonyms, a practice that maintained a degree of anonymity for the letter-writer. Her contribution could thus be highly individual yet somewhat generic, a contradiction that suggested the writer's unique utterance simultaneously stood in for a group of similarly anonymous readers. In this way, the forms of identification through initials and pseudonyms implied that one letter might represent the thoughts—or even the unpublished letters—of many like-minded readers. To begin with the uses of location, *Chatelaine*'s editors included readers from all across Canada in the same way that they included fiction and articles that represented a diversity of regions. The locations included large urban centres (Montreal, Toronto), smaller cities (Victoria, Halifax, Edmonton), small communities (Truro, Nova Scotia; Claresholm, Alberta; Mapes, British Columbia), and individual farms in rural areas. In this way, *Chatelaine* managed to represent both Canada's regional diversity as well as *Chatelaine*'s widespread appeal to the individuals who made up that diversity.

In keeping with this, "The Last Word: Our Readers Have" was structured to impress upon readers the inclusive quality of the magazine. This inclusion played out as "The Last Word" became a shared space among readers from not only different regions, but also different socio-economic backgrounds. Pseudonyms provide one set of clues regarding these backgrounds, as they typically reflected the readers' self-identification according to gender, occupation, and nationality. These pseudonyms included "A Canadian Mother" (Feb. 1934), "Canadian Wife" (July 1934), "An Average Farm Woman" (Mar. 1934), "A Minister's Daughter" (May 1934) and "A Canadian Club Woman" (Apr. 1934). The prevalence of "Canadian" as a form of identification speaks to the importance of national identity in the minds of readers who wrote to the magazine. Alongside this category, readers also identified themselves as wives, mothers, daughters, and club or farm women, marking their traditional gender roles as equally important to them as their nationality. In this way, the letters re-enforced *Chatelaine*'s estimation of its readers as Canadian women engaged in traditional domestic and community responsibilities.

In addition to the use of pseudonyms, hints about readers' backgrounds surfaced in the contents of their letters, as readers' references to their homes, their occupations, or their local environment suggested their different social and economic positions. The placement of these references alongside one another sometimes generated jarring contrasts between readers. In the February 1934 issue, for instance, Mrs. J.M.K. of Victoria praised a recent *Chatelaine* feature on modern furnishing, exclaiming "how beautiful the empty simplicity of the modern room. It makes a fitting background for any family with personality" (72). She went on to note that she planned to clear out the "clutter" (72) of her household and re-decorate. In stark contrast to Mrs. J.M.K.'s implicit material comfort, a letter from "A Canadian Mother" read:

> I have been unable to stand up very long at a time for about two months and said to my husband that I believed it was lack of food. And after Christmas, which gave us a few days of plenty, I didn't feel the weakness for nearly a week. So I think the long drawn-out "depression" is beginning to be deadly to thousands in like circumstances. (Feb. 1934 72)

Chatelaine's editors, notably, did not often comment upon the letters that were published. The letters thus spoke for themselves, and the uneasy co-existence of some letters brought readers together as a composite picture of themselves. This composition was marked by differences in not only social status, but also individual opinions and tastes; yet, it also drew the women who wrote to *Chatelaine* together as a nation of readers who were figured, in microcosm, through "The Last Word." In turn, many of the letters printed in "The Last Word" illuminated the ways in which *Chatelaine* was actually read and the reasons that readers considered their subscription to the magazine an important facet of their cultural, intellectual, and social lives.

One such letter appeared in the June 1934 issue. It was from Mrs. J.J.W. of Mapes, British Columbia, and her letter reflected on her surroundings, her enjoyment of *Chatelaine*, and the place of *Chatelaine* in her community. In her words:

> We had a real winter and are glad to see the snow gone from the valley, and the river running its muddy waters again. Our home is in the valley of the Chilako, which I am told means "muddy." At any rate, it is very appropriate at this time of the year. The wild ducks nest and raise their young along the shores; occasionally a pair of geese stay with us. We have counted eleven moose from our kitchen window during the winter, but they seek higher ground when spring comes. We often see deer, bear, and numerous fur-bearing animals, to say nothing of the hundreds of birds that make this home.
>
> I was rather amused by the letter of Mrs. C.S.I., Galt, in the February issue. No need for me to comment on it after so long a time, but I do hope that you won't take such remarks too seriously. I am sure that she is only one in a

> thousand—aye, thousands. If *Chatelaine* were any different perhaps we wouldn't wait and watch so eagerly for it. My copy is read in no less than a dozen different homes; it is devoured from "kiver to kiver," from the wee folks to grandmas and grandpas. —Mrs. J.J.W., Mapes, B.C. (June 1934 94) [16]

Beyond praising *Chatelaine*, Mrs. J.J.W's letter represents her experience of Canadian life to other readers. She lived in a remote area (Mapes was, and is, a small community in central British Columbia) that was surrounded by wilderness and affected greatly by the seasonal climate. Her letter suggests that *Chatelaine* made her feel that she was, nonetheless, a part of a community of Canadian readers made up of "thousands" who would agree with her in regard to *Chatelaine*'s high quality as a publication. Her letter goes on to substantiate the magazine producers' research into the ways in which the magazine was read, as her letter demonstrates that the periodical was passed along to "no less than a dozen different homes." The importance of the magazine as a source of reading material was evident in the avidity with which it was read—"kiver to kiver"—while its appeal to a diverse group of readers—"wee folks to grandmas and grandpas"—undercuts *Chatelaine*'s overall construction of readers as middle-class urban women. In this way, the letter provides a way of looking at *Chatelaine*'s readership in microcosm and, in so doing, reveals that this readership was much more eclectic than *Chatelaine*'s focus on domesticity and middle-class life could account for. Mrs. J.J.W.'s letter situates the magazine as part of a network of homes to which she was connected, while the publication of the letter in *Chatelaine* made Mrs. J.J.W. a visible member of a national body of readers. In this way, the letter from Mrs. J.J.W. is one instance through which "The Last Word" showed *Chatelaine* readers to themselves while simultaneously setting out their reading practices as both an engrossing cover-to-cover engagement with print that took place individually and a communal activity that drew individuals together on a local and national scale.

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[16] Mrs. C.S.I. of Galt had written to complain that a short story called "The Empty Inn" was "raw stuff" and that she now regretted subscribing to *Chatelaine*, which she had done as a result of hearing "so much praise regarding the superior stories" (Feb. 1934, 72). Other readers, such as Mrs. J.J.W., disagreed. As Mrs. R.M.F. of Winnipeg wrote, "I was greatly amused at the comments of Mrs. C.S.I., Galt about the "raw stuff" printed in *Chatelaine*" (April 1934, 88). In contrast to Mrs. C.S.I's sentiments, Mrs. R.M.F. felt that "no words can express the pleasure and help I've derived from your magazine," and that the fiction could, in fact, "stand a little more spice" (April 1934, 88).

Community and friendship were, in fact, key themes in the letters that readers wrote about *Chatelaine*. As Mrs. M.M. of British Columbia put it:

> I always feel when I finish *Chatelaine* and put it down, as I feel when I see a train pull out bearing a friend—a sort of empty lonely feeling—sorry that it didn't last longer. I wish the next issue was coming next week, not next month. Three cheers for the March issue. I received it at noon, and by ten o'clock the same evening I was looking through it carefully for the third time to see if I'd missed anything—even in the advertisements!
>
> --Mrs. M.M., B.C. (Apr. 1934 88)

As with the letter from Mrs. J.J.W., the letter from Mrs. M.M. expresses the avidity with which she read *Chatelaine*. Moreover, she stressed that she felt that the periodical was a friend who was eagerly awaited each month. In this way, the letter bore out the ethos of friendship that Sanders sought to create. As another reader put it, "I thoroughly enjoy *Chatelaine*. I like its breezy, friendly spirit. And you hear it talked about everywhere these days" (P.E.M., Ontario, Apr. 1934, 88). The affirmation from a reader that *Chatelaine* was a subject of conversation "everywhere" fed into its adoption of a friendly, gracious appeal. In effect, the magazine was represented in the letters from readers as a magazine that seamlessly transitioned from a private reading activity that felt like a conversation with a friend to an item that brought individuals together through reading and discussion, thus strengthening the bonds among them.

This conceptualization of *Chatelaine* spilled over into the treatment of *Chatelaine* itself as emblematic of a Canadian community. A letter from Mrs. E.O.T. of New Brunswick, for example, focuses on the sense of unity across Canada that she felt *Chatelaine* generated. As she explained:

> Yesterday I went into a church parlor and saw a dozen ladies quilting. Some of them had snow-white hair; all had wrinkled faces and gnarled, bent fingers, but it was a pleasant happy place to be in. The quilt was so colorful: the old ladies were so busy, happy, and chatty. Do you know that reading *Chatelaine* makes the reader feel the same atmosphere? You seem to have a knack of gathering a lot of experience into one small space—of uniting all Canadian women into a cherry little circle. (Feb. 1934 72)

Mrs. E.O.T.'s comparison of the colourful quilt being constructed by a group of happy women to *Chatelaine*'s creation of a "cheery little circle" of "all Canadian women," serves as a highly suggestive metaphor for nation-building. Canada was, the letter implies, the national version of the quilt being stitched together, with the nation being made up of a series of disparate parts that were made whole by the work of many different women. *Chatelaine*, by gathering "a lot of experience in one small space" did not simply unite Canadian women, it united them in a productive manner by engaging them in creation of their country. Importantly, the community that *Chatelaine* helped build was a harmonious one whose individual members worked together. Further to this, the community could be imagined at a local level, thereby turning national identity into a facet of daily life that was readily integrated into personal experience and, in turn, adding meaning to those personal experiences by providing a broader purpose for individual experience.

The importance of representing individual experiences, and the ways in which such representations made readers feel part of a nation-wide community, was central to a letter from a "Canadian Wife" of New Brunswick. In her words:

> When you give us articles of real life as it is lived by women everywhere, as in your chronicles of a country doctor's wife, you are doing something that is really worthwhile. We women who read your magazine want reality as much as the romantic imaginings of your love stories. When I read what other women have undergone, and what their lives are like, I can adapt myself to my own with much more interest. Besides, dear editor, don't you think that is where the real romance lies? (July 1934 76)

"Canadian Wife" thus explains to the magazine's editors, and subsequently to other Canadian readers, the way in which *Chatelaine* gave meaning to her daily activities by offering a social context for those activities. While "Canadian Wife" referred to "women everywhere," *Chatelaine*'s focus was, of course, on Canadian women, and the periodical's effort to represent women from different regions and backgrounds from across Canada resonated with this reader. The appearance of articles designed to represent the daily lives of average Canadian women, and so inspire women readers, was no accident. It was, in fact, part of a programme devised by *Chatelaine*'s editors to share the experiences of ordinary Canadian women. As Sanders explained:

> So much is written of women who are constantly in the public eye; so little is told of the day by day achievements of women in every corner of Canada. The *Chatelaine* wants to do honor to these fine women, and in honoring them to include all the women who are working so splendidly to develop this nation that is ours. (Oct. 1930 16)

While the publication of the letter from "Canadian Wife" can be interpreted as a form of self-promotion on *Chatelaine*'s part, and perhaps even self-congratulation over the periodical's success in representing ordinary yet "fine" women, the letter's appearance in "The Last Word" also signals the genuine importance of such representations to readers. In turn, the inspiration that a "Canadian Wife" found in *Chatelaine* indicates one way in which the periodical motivated women to "develop this nation" that was theirs.

Not all readers found such motivation in *Chatelaine*. Readers, of course, took up the magazine for a variety of reasons, and there was no question that many readers viewed *Chatelaine* as a form of escape and entertainment. As such, they resisted connecting their enjoyment of the magazine to the issues of Canadian identity or nation-building that the magazine circulated. As a vehicle for escape, Mrs. M.M.McK. of Vancouver wrote *Chatelaine* to say:

> I found time to go thoroughly through my *Chatelaine* when it came today, postponing the third planting of peas until tomorrow. Maybe there will be less pheasants by then to dig them up. I began with Beryl Gray's story and ended with

> a fervent thanksgiving for the hope it encouraged in my heart. I also found enjoyment in the rest of the fiction.
>
> --Mrs. M.M.McK., Vancouver, B.C. (June 1934 94)

Indeed, many other readers wrote *Chatelaine* to express, in two or three sentences, how much they enjoyed a given story and to ask for more fiction by one author or another. Their focus was not on Canada or community, but on the sheer pleasure of reading fiction. While Mrs. M.M.McK. noted the hope and encouragement she received from the fiction, she did not draw a connection between this feeling and a national feeling. In this way, some of the letters indicate that reading *Chatelaine* did not necessarily feed into Sanders' imperative "to build this nation that is ours." This is not to say that the nation was not implicated on other levels—Beryl Gray was a Canadian author who wrote primarily about British Columbia, thus constituting an imagined form of one aspect of Canada--but rather that readers either consciously or unconsciously chose not to engage with the periodical's nation-building elements.

Other readers, in contrast, embraced the political issues and the question of Canada's future, using *Chatelaine* as a catalyst for service to both local and national organizations. As "An Average Farm Woman" noted in the March 1934 issue of *Chatelaine*, the magazine was "often quoted in our branch of the Women's Institute, and favorable comment passed on how well it expresses the highest ideals of our Canadian womanhood" (84). While the letter does not specify the nature of these high ideals, it is intriguing that *Chatelaine* had a role in sparking discussion about those ideals, and their uniquely Canadian qualities, at meetings of the Women's Institute. In this way, readers integrated the magazine into their social and political work. Indeed, *Chatelaine* was cited by more than one reader as a platform for speaking out on the issues that concerned them.

Several readers, for example, responded to Sanders' March 1934 editorial "Why Not A Dramatic Peace?" both inside and outside of the magazine. In the editorial, Sanders argued that war was imbued with elements of glory and pathos that gave it an aura of drama. Peace, she felt, could be equally dramatic if women devoted themselves to its cause. To this end, she advocated that Canadian women:

> speak to the clergy and public men in our community; to the women leaders of our groups. Make them feel we want to know more about disarmaments; about the conditions of world affairs; what other countries are doing for peace. Make them know we're interested. And then back them up by listening to them, and bring the crowd. And let's add life and color and romance to these meetings. For the coming years will bring about either world order, or world chaos. In the main the deciding factor will be an organized public opinion. That is where you come in! (2)

Mrs. C.C.G. of Guelph did exactly as Sanders had recommended, and then wrote to her at *Chatelaine* to discuss her reaction to the editorial:

> As soon as I read your fine editorial "Why Not a Dramatic Peace?" I phoned our minister and drew his attention to it. I hope it will be widely read, quoted, and acted upon. We are proud of *Chatelaine* as Canadian women, and you are to be congratulated on it. (Mar. 1934 84)

This instance demonstrates the power that *Chatelaine* exerted on readers with regard to political action. At the same time, the letter from Mrs. C.C.G. expounded on the pride that she felt in knowing that *Chatelaine* was a Canadian publication that she hoped would influence others as it had influenced her. Notably, Mrs. C.C.G. was not alone. Mrs. D.P. of Lethbridge submitted a letter to *Chatelaine* about the agency that she felt the magazine encouraged in Canadian women. In her words:

> Thank you for your splendid editorial, "Why Not a Dramatic Peace?" I would like to enlarge upon your ideas by suggesting further possibilities for peace. Why not form a union of teachers all over the world who hate war and wish for peace? Let them give a peace talk one day a week to the children, with prizes for essays. Have a children's union for peace, with badges and rules. Encourage correspondence and exchange of views with foreign children. [...] An ordinary person feels so helpless, so it is fine to have such a widely read publication as yours taking the stand for peace. —Mrs. D.P., Lethbridge. (May 1934 98)

Similarly, Mrs. G.C.M. of Vancouver wrote to say:

> I want to do something about this larger dream [of peace]. I am not an original thinker, or an influential person in this town of five thousand souls, but I am sure my women friends would back me up. Can you help me to start the ball rolling out here in the West? (July 1934 76)

While *Chatelaine*'s editors may have responded privately to Mrs. G.C.M's request, the response that appeared in print came from another reader. Mrs. A.A.C. of Toronto wrote with a list of suggestions that could, potentially, make Mrs. G.C.M. into an "influential person" through community through her network of female friends, particularly if those friends were willing to work together. As Mrs. A.A.C. argued, women could do much to promote peace, and they could begin by reading. In her words:

> Study the causes of war, nationalism, the manufacture of armaments for profits, imperialism, and the futile effects of war. Gather a group of women together and study such books as "The Intelligent Man's Way to Prevent War" […]. Get ideas from the League of Nations Society in Ottawa. Arrange for an Armistice service in your church. Get a representative from every woman's organization in your community for a League of Nations Society Committee whose duty will be to keep the women's society interested in the work of the League of Nations. Commence with the spirit of peace and good will towards all creeds, races, and colors in your community. (Aug. 1934 68).

The letter not only supplied readers in search of advice with a list of suggestions, but also spoke to Mrs. A.A.C.'s assurance that women were able to exert political agency. The publication of her letter, in turn, marked *Chatelaine*'s support of her viewpoint. Moreover, the series of letters on peace exemplifies the interaction among women across Canada as it took place in the print medium of *Chatelaine*. The letters expressed both shared fears and tactics for dealing with those fears, and, in this case, pulled readers together towards the common goal of peace. Mrs. A.A.C.'s letter also presented an inclusive attitude "towards all creeds, races, and colors" in Canada. As noted earlier, *Chatelaine* constructed readers as middle-class white women, but letters from readers like Mrs. A.A.C. pushed the magazine to acknowledge that Canadian identity was more complex than such a construction permitted. The goal of both *Chatelaine* readers and

Canadians, in her view, was the acceptance of diversity and the collective effort to create a peaceful society that might, in time, serve as a model for other nations. *Chatelaine*'s decision to print the letter suggests their unwritten agreement with this ideal.

In its publication of letters from readers, *Chatelaine* represented its readership to itself in its own words. This readership was widespread, not only regionally, but also economically and socially. Letters arrived from remote locations as well as from urban centres; from maritime provinces and from prairie provinces; from well-to-do homes and from impoverished ones. Reading itself was discussed as an engrossing private activity that, in turn, created a feeling of friendship and national camaraderie among Canadian women. This is not to say that all of the readers agreed with one another, or with *Chatelaine*'s contents in and of themselves; rather, readers felt that "The Last Word" was a space in which they could communicate their different opinions with one another. That said, much of the emphasis in these letters was on harmony, with one reader comparing *Chatelaine*'s construction of Canada to a quilting circle, while another advocated an inclusive "spirit of peace and goodwill" in daily life. The letters also trace the ways in which daily life was intertwined with national identity. Some readers, for example, found inspiration in the knowledge of other Canadian women's lives that *Chatelaine* circulated; other readers used "The Last Word" as a forum for asking and answering questions about nationalism, war and peace, and the contributions that women could make to their communities. "The Last Word," then, was a means of representing *Chatelaine* readers to themselves alongside their reception of the magazine, with both of these representations signalling the ways in which reading *Chatelaine* was an engagement with national identity.

"Fond of Reading?": Chatelaine and an "Average" Book Club

In November 1933, *Chatelaine* published the article "You'd Enjoy This Book Club!" by Gladys Lougheed. The piece began with the words "Fond of reading? Then organize a group of friends and enjoy thirty of the newest books at the price of two" (22). As the article continued, this combination of friendship and finances became the organizing principle underlying the formation of a book club. The question of money, in fact, appeared almost immediately in the article as the impetus for forming a club. This is not surprising, given the effects of the Depression. Many Canadians, as I discuss in more detail in Chapter Three, could not afford to buy books during the 1930s, causing publishers to print fewer books and making magazines an increasingly important source of reading materials. Lougheed's article, however, indicates that magazine reading was not the only type of reading with which Canadians wished to engage, and her advice was designed to help make books more accessible.

The plan she outlined was simple: form a reading group made up of sixty women that were broken in sub-groups of fifteen members; each woman bought two books in the autumn, and the books circulated systematically among the readers in each sub-group over the course of the winter. In this way, the women in the club could read thirty books between November and June. She recommended these months, as autumn and winter were "the seasons for intense reading" (22), a fact that accounted for the lengthy winter season in Canada that kept most individuals indoors. At the same time, such solitary activity was balanced with the regular exchange of books and a series of monthly meetings that Lougheed suggested women hold in their homes. The formation of a club thus offered readers a regular social gathering to attend that was organized around the pleasure of reading and that contributed to strengthening relationships among women in their local communities.

Beyond making a wide selection of books available to women who might not otherwise be able to afford them, Lougheed argued that forming a book club increased women's power to access the books of their choosing. She argued that "excellent books may be obtained from between $4.75 and six dollars a year per member. At five dollars it means that the group will have $300 to spend" (22). She recommended that the group take this large collective sum to "large firms [which] can give the book group the best satisfaction, as they can risk ordering one copy of a great many books offered by the publishing houses" (22). As the book club would, Lougheed hoped, last for many years, the club's members would develop a positive rapport with such firms. In her words:

> [the] co-operation of book lovers and book dealers leads to mutual respect and consideration. Business firms soon learn to appreciate a group's patronage. It helps them with other sales. Book-group members buy additional copies for gift

> purposes. Sales people may offer customers books on the recommendation that the book under discussion has been chosen by the book group for the year. (22)

This awareness of women's collective purchasing power, and how it might be used to benefit women as they dealt with large firms, was very different from the approach to purchasing books that emerged in the formation of mass-orchestrated book clubs, such as the American Book-of-the-Month-Club, of the era.

In her research on the Book-of-the-Month-Club, which was formed in 1926, Janice Radway explains that the Club was a system that facilitated the mass distribution of books that were pre-selected by an educated elite for sale to a middle-class audience of individuals who chose to subscribe to the Club. The choice to join the Club led, of course, to other choices, but the nature of these choices were determined by the Club itself. That is, readers who had joined the Club did not have the right to refuse books outright; they could only chose one title over another and were required to purchase a minimum number of books each year. The result was a prescribed reading list that, over the years, culminated in the readers' cultural and intellectual participation in the particular style of literature deemed appropriate by the Club's organizers. The literature in question was chosen based on the Club's awareness that its members belonged to the middle class—or aspired to belong to it. Titles were therefore selected with the needs of this class in mind, generating a body of reading materials that were shared by thousands of subscribers and contributing to the formation of a homogenous "taste" for middlebrow literature. As Radway puts it, the Club:

> was intricately bound up with the refashioning of forms of work in the United States and with the reorganization of class in a consumer society. I also suggest that middlebrow culture and the particular configuration of taste it cultivated developed as a kind of social pedagogy for a growing class fraction of professionals, managers, and information and culture workers as well as for those who aspired to the status of this class. (15)

Alongside the intellectual and cultural effects of this pedagogy, the Club encouraged readers to accumulate a personal library as a symbol of education and social status, thus emphasizing the material and symbolic value of books and the importance of private ownership (Radway 151-152). At the same time, readers were essentially anonymous. Their reading, while it was structured on a mass scale, did not ask that readers meet in local groups to discuss literature and literary tastes. The result was the construction of a widespread class identity in which the members of the middle class shared similar cultural values without actually knowing one another.

These effects, arguably, spilled over into Canada as the Book-of-the-Month-Club sought subscribers in both nations. Indeed, the presence of the Book-of-the-Month-Club in Canada was apparent in *Chatelaine*'s inclusion of advertisements for the Club every few months. It is not, however, my purpose here to enter into what would necessarily be a lengthy discussion of the ways in which the Book-of-the-Month-Club may have influenced Canadian reading tastes and blurred cultural distinctions between the two nations. Instead, I wish to focus on the ways in which the book club recommendations featured in *Chatelaine* in November 1933 were antithetical not only to the mass-distribution of middlebrow books, but also to the construction of Canadian identity—especially a middle-class Canadian identity—in which *Chatelaine* itself participated as an article of mass culture.

Gladys Lougheed's recommendations for forming a book club were designed for a locally-based and highly individual approach to text selection and reading. The type of club she advocated was fundamentally communal, as the point of the club was not to amass a personal library, but to share books. In sharing them, personal contact, rather than mass anonymity, was central to the book club's practices. Lougheed's suggestions on how to attract members into a book club demonstrate the need for personal interaction as a means for the book club to get underway. She recommended that women wishing to begin a club look to their church or local Women's Institute; further to this, she suggested that the club might be integrated with other types of charity or community work with which women were involved. If they chose to organize their group in this way, the books selected for reading could be selected based on its relationship to that work. This, however, was only one of Lougheed's suggestions. She also suggested that readers choose a mixture of fiction and non-fiction according to the genres and topics that interested the group most. At no point does she list specific titles that would be suitable to the readership in question—such decisions were to be entirely the choice of readers. Freedom of choice—either individual ones or collectively negotiated ones—were thus at the core of the approach to book club reading that *Chatelaine* presented through Lougheed's article. As a result, this club presented reading as an activity that was highly social, locally-grounded, and uniquely determined by readers themselves.

In this way, the book club was also different from today's most prominent book club, the Oprah Book Club.[17] This Club, however, goes beyond recommending books as it showcased, in the late 1990s, how to run book club meetings through its broadcasts of simulated informal dinner discussions filmed for the Oprah Winfrey Show. According to Timothy Aubry, both the Club's book selections and the discussions about them coalesce around the same principles of middlebrow taste that Radway outlines. As he observes, the middlebrow readers who make up Oprah's primary audience turn to literature:

> in search of practical guidance on how to manage various social and psychological challenges, and in search of strategies for self-improvement—a phrase that connotes the acquisition of knowledge, material wealth, status, or some combination of the three. (353)

Where the Oprah Book Club differs from the Book-of-the-Month-Club is in its highly visible treatment of the protocols of reading itself. Being a member of the Book-of-the-Month entailed reading as a largely private activity; the Oprah Book Club puts readers' responses to literature on display in a re-created television environment designed to look personal and informal. As a result, both the motivation for reading (the acquisition of knowledge, material wealth, status, or some combination of the three) and the manner in which middlebrow readers are meant to interact with both texts and each other become prescribed by the producers of the Club.

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[17] For other recent work on the Oprah Book Club, see *Reading Oprah: How Oprah's Book Club Changed the Way America Reads* by Cecilia Konchar Farr, *Reading with Oprah: The Book Club that Changed America* by Kathleen Rooney, and *The Oprah Phenomenon*, edited by Jennifer Harris and Elwood Watson.

In contrast, Lougheed's 1934 recommendations left the rationale for reading and the actual running of book club meetings up to the club. This is not to say that she did not have a plethora of suggestions about how readers might organize the club. Her advice on this score included the suggestion that each club choose a convener who would set meeting times and dates, her thoughts on the most efficient exchanging of books, and a list of the activities that readers might take up during their meetings. As she put it:

> Meetings may be purely social events, or use may be made of clippings, book reviews and pictures of authors whose books are being read. Reviews of books chosen may be cut out and pasted on cardboard by the selection committee; these are interesting to pass around or read aloud at meetings. At one of the spring meetings the convener may present the reviewer's reports on new books already out. The group can then express their desires on the type of book they prefer. Another meeting might be held in a public place and friends interested in books invited to attend. (24)

She goes on to suggest the use of mock-quizzes on authors, formal debates between readers, the presentation of book reviews penned by the readers, and informal discussion as other possibilities for keeping meetings lively. The key was that each Club determine which approach would meet its individual needs. Moreover, Lougheed's article was a one-time feature; if readers chose to form book clubs according to her suggestion, the practices that followed would be independently structured by the readers themselves.

Only in her celebration of the pleasure of selecting the thirty books, the enjoyment of private reading, and the sharing of ideas does Lougheed fall into a rhetoric of self-improvement that accords with the attitudes towards reading promoted by the Book-of-the-Month-Club and the Oprah Book Club. As Lougheed concluded her article:

> Canadian women who form these book groups have scope to exercise their executive abilities, their social instincts, their literary critical faculties, their fluency and charm while making public speeches. In fact, the advantages of belong[ing] to a book group can scarcely be enumerated! (24)

This rhetoric is, to some extent, in line with Elizabeth Long's research on the internal workings of a localized book clubs in the late twentieth century. She notes that that the readers in the club she studied tended to select and interpret fiction as a form of "self-help" that could teach them how to make sense of, and even improve, their lives (200). While Lougheed was not advocating the literature itself as a means of self-help, she located the social life that emerged around reading as beneficial to the skills and intellect of the readers in question. Book clubs, then, were in the service of self-improvement much the same way that *Chatelaine*'s advice columns, fiction, and articles were geared towards inspiring readers to continually improve their lives.

"The Desire to Read More Books was Our Bond"

In response to Lougheed's article, a group of readers who had formed a book club after reading Lougheed's piece penned a collective, yet anonymously published, article for *Chatelaine*. This article, which was titled "The Book Club at Work," appeared in the July 1934 issue. It provides a unique set of insights into both *Chatelaine*'s readership and the reading practices of this particular facet of that readership. The article began with the club's description of its members. They presented themselves as:

> average everyday people in a small western Canadian city. The eight women who made up our group included a teacher of English in a college institute, a doctor, a Victorian order nurse, a social worker, a teacher of French in a private school, a potential teacher who marks papers in a correspondence school, a stenographer, and a married woman of the Hausfrau type. Five are university graduates, the other three have had some particular technical education. Our ages range from the twenty-two-year-old stenographer to the forty-two-year-old Hausfrau. All of us were born in Canada and except for an occasional trip abroad we have lived here all our lives. We come of middle-class Anglo-Saxon families, just like the ordinary taxpaying kind who don't make headlines.
>
> Joined by a common impulse of wanting to read more books than we were able to buy individually, we each brought one and pooled the lot. The books were passed from one to another every two weeks, when we met every second Thursday evening to discuss what we had read. (July 1934 4)

While the readers identified themselves as "average Canadians," they differed somewhat from the way in which *Chatelaine* addressed its readers. Granted, these women were

Anglo-Saxon" and urban, yet *Chatelaine* assumed its readers were married (or wished to be) and invested to some degree in running a household and raising children. In contrast, only one woman was married, the other seven women had careers through which they supported themselves, and none of them had children. Indeed, the writers of the article questioned the overarching demands of motherhood that were expected of women as they assessed the book *Ida Elizabeth*. As they remarked: "must mothers always sacrifice themselves for their children? Must they become slaves? Must they blot themselves out and wear away soul and body for their offspring? Must they?" (July 1934 4). It was a question that stood in contradiction to the idealization of motherhood as women's natural as most rewarding work that ran throughout both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*. As Veronica Strong-Boag observes in *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939*, "saccharine" poems about the joys of motherhood (one of which appeared in the *Chatelaine* in September 1931) and the editorial advocacy of motherhood as the highest calling for women suggest that "motherhood was to do much to compensate women for other shortcomings in their lives" (145) and that "whatever else happened, proper performance of maternal duties gave women cause for personal pride and public approval" (145). The resistance of such a construction of women was present in the book club's investigation of motherhood as it was portrayed in literature, and the fact that they left their questioning unanswered in their article left it open for questioning among other *Chatelaine* readers.

As the book club moved on to discuss their choice of reading materials, it was clear that their choices were also at variance with both *Chatelaine*'s predilection for romance stories and *Chatelaine*'s Canadian agenda. The list of works selected by the club included *Flush* and *A Room of One's Own* by Virginia Woolf, *Three Lives* by Gertrude Stein, *Design for Living* by Noel Coward, and *The Playboy of the Western World* by J.M. Synge. These works were, notably, a part of what today is considered the high literature of the first half of the twentieth century; moreover, they were all imported from abroad. In articulating the rationale for their selection of texts, the book club noted that they "were aiming to keep up in the modish world of books" (4) and they felt, at the end of the course of reading that they had set for themselves, that they had done so.

This attitude, and the neglect of romance stories and Canadiana that it entailed, does not preclude the possibility that the same women read and enjoyed *Chatelaine* fiction. Rather, if the magazine influenced them to begin a book club, and they chose to write and submit an article to *Chatelaine*, then the magazine was clearly an important cultural entity for them. Their reading choices demonstrate the ways in which they chose different reading material for different purposes, adding a new nuance to our understanding of *Chatelaine*'s readers and their preferences. The club also shows one way in which the magazine was put to use in their lives, as they employed *Chatelaine* as a starting point to create a small community of local readers. They subsequently turned their practice of magazine reading into a social forum that, in turn, broke with the nature of the reading material provided by *Chatelaine*. By publishing the article, the book club fed their experiences, and their implicit suggestions for reading matter, into the national forum that *Chatelaine* sought to be. They thus became representative of one facet of the magazine's readership, and their reading choices added a different texture to the usual fictional fare that *Chatelaine* offered. The result was that *Chatelaine* was able to keep its Canadian-centric focus and its romance fiction intact as appealing features of the magazine while incorporating a decidedly different approach to reading into the purview of the magazine. Throughout, reading itself remained important as an intellectual and social practice that strengthened both individual quality of life and community bonds, with *Chatelaine*'s work in creating a nation of readers furthered by its presentation of this specific group of readers.

In terms of middle-class tastes and reading, the responses of the book club to the literature that they read challenge the assessments of Radway, Aubry, and Long. While the readers in the club certainly fell into the socio-economic category of middle class, their approach to reading was not one of self-help or the acquisition of material or intellectual status. Rather, their article reflects a range of approaches to literature, with assessments of literary style and the validity of a literary work as a purveyor of "truth" being at the core of the book club's responses to different texts. Their treatment of Virginia Woolf and Gertrude Stein, for example, took up the question of literary style. In regard to *Flush*, they wrote:

> One member of the club held that *Flush*, by Virginia Woolf, was the example par excellence of exquisite style [...].Taken as fact or as fantasy, there is no question of the pleasure to be had out of Flush, purely for the sake of the style, which gives the tale the needful touch of authenticity. (4)

In contrast, they felt that Gertrude's Stein's style was over-rated by critics. As they put it:

> None of us were able to read Gertrude Stein's Three Lives all through. We included it in our list because the reviews last fall were full of Gertrude Stein and we were aiming to keep up in the modish world of books. After earnest attempts to read her work we came across an article in the Atlantic Monthly which seemed to explain the mystery. She had been practicing for many years a stunt when she read a book, had another book read aloud to her and did automatic writing at the same time. She was supposed to be experimenting in some theories about the connection of sound with the production of literature. In spite of the cackling and acclaim of the professional book reviewers, we did not feel that her results had been successful. (4)

While the club's stated desire to "keep up in the modish world of books" does speak to a certain degree of middle-class desire in terms of keeping up-to-date and reading the books recommended by experts, the club chose to disagree with those experts after making "earnest attempts" to "get through" *Three Lives*. Moreover, they conducted their own research into the way in which the book had been written, and concluded that Stein's novel was simply not successful. Given their attention to authenticity in *Flush*, it may well be that the "stunt" they discovered in their research did not fit their criteria for worthwhile reading material.

Integrity did, in fact, appear to be a crucial component in assessing a work's worthiness. In a discussion of the novel *The Longer Day* by "the author of Miss Tiverton Goes Out," they began by debating whether or not it was better to be pragmatic and purposeful in life or to live the life of the "impractical dreamer" (4). Rather than relating this to their own lives, as might be expected, they turned this into a more abstract question, asking in general terms "Who is right? The world or the not-world?" The book, they felt, was inconclusive on this score, but its inconclusive quality lent itself to a feeling that it was genuine. This, they felt, was the true strength of *The Longer Day* as a work of fiction. Citing Virginia Woolf, they concluded their treatment of *The Longer Day* by saying " 'it is the conviction that he (the novelist) gives one that this is the truth. Yes, one feels, I should never have thought that this could be so. I have never known people behaving like that. But you have convinced me that it is, so it happens' " (5). In this way, the readers were not only in search of the "truth" that only literature could explore, but also the resistance to closure that some books embodied.

As for the social, organizational element of the book club, the club noted that they had chosen a very informal approach. They explained that they "did not set tasks or insist on formal papers being prepared and read aloud. Such papers are often tedious and a bore. The desire to read more books was our bond" (4). In this sense, the club resisted the beneficial, self-improving facets of forming a book club and concentrated instead on the pleasure of reading and the social bonds that it fostered. This does not mean that they did not express a feeling of accomplishment at the end of their winter's reading. As they concluded:

> The evenings were well spent. Sometimes at the end, as Alduous Huxley puts it, we had only a roomful of carbon dioxide and ammonia empesting the air. Other times controversy waged, sparks flew, rights were upheld. On occasion we talked darkly, of going out and sinning promiscuously to add glamour and excitement to our lives. But we never did. Thanks to the suggestion of *Chatelaine*, we felt that for no great outlay we have kept up in books this year.

Such a conclusion draws attention to the respect for differing opinions within the group, and their willingness to engage in disagreements. It also reflects the club's wry awareness of the gap between the fiction that they enjoyed and the reality of their lives in a small Canadian city and, in particular, their awareness of the gender norms and social expectations that prevented them from "sinning promiscuously to add glamour and excitement" to their lives. In this sense, the fiction they read supplied an escape from what may have otherwise been a mundane reality. The fact that the women shared the experience of this escape served as their "bond," while their willingness to share their experience with other *Chatelaine* readers extended that bond to the magazine's readership. At the same time, the influence of *Chatelaine* over readers as both a printed entity that shaped everyday life, and a means of articulating their experiences and then placing those experiences in the context of a national forum, was clearly important to these readers. Magazine reading, then, was a lively, dynamic process that contributed to other reading practices; simultaneously, magazine reading was situated as an important communal and national practice that also took place within the international context of literature imported from abroad. Ultimately, the book club readers, published as they were in *Chatelaine*, can themselves be read as a microcosm of Canadian women who were model readers.

Conclusion

I began this chapter by exploring the ways in which circulation figures, the materiality of the text, and the construction of readers were bound together with discussions of national identity. Magazine distribution was marked by invocations of prestige, pride, and patriotism as reasons for choosing to purchase and read *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*. Doing so engaged one in one's national culture, thus making one a good citizen. In turn, the national culture, as it was presented in the magazines, created a context for making sense of one's daily life. In the magazines' portrayal of its place in readers' homes, its "breezy, friendly style" (to quote one reader), and its construction of women as citizens, readers were encouraged to see themselves as part of an imagined national community. Some readers, as the letters that were published in *Chatelaine* suggest, embraced this sense of community. Others chose to focus on the escapist pleasure that *Chatelaine* provided, leaving questions of nationhood outside of their written reactions to the magazine. The book club readers, for their part, show they did not always wish to immerse themselves in the Canadian culture with which *Chatelaine* presented them; rather, they sought out texts with an international flair. That said, the book club readers' willingness to publish their reflections on forming a book club resulted in the integration their social lives as readers into the nationalist purview of *Chatelaine*. Between readers' self-representation as the "ordinary taxpaying kind" of Canadian, and the celebration of readers as "women who are working so splendidly to develop this nation that is ours," the dynamics of readership and reception defined, and were defined by, the national identity circulated through these Canadian magazines.

Chapter Three

Fiction and the Nation: Constructing Canadian Identity in *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal*

I am very happy and proud to have my first story published in a magazine maintaining so high a standard as *Canadian Home Journal*. I do hope that your readers will like the story of "Happy," so that you shall not regret giving me my first opportunity as a writer.

--Carl Kristiansen, 1935

Why do you publish such stupidly un-Canadian stories as "The Black Siberians" by Beryl Gray? I live on the B.C. coast and was very disappointed with this story. What are the "Black Siberians" anyway? The lady who wrote this cannot possibly know much of her country.

--Disappointed Reader, 1934

Stories of merit arrived from all Canada—from amateurs and professionals—over two hundred manuscripts. Ninety per cent dealt with the War. It is natural that this topic should be the topic of overall importance to Canadians; [it is] an indication that our hearts are with our men overseas and that hopes for the future mingle with serene memories of a "right" way of life.

--Editorial for the *Canadian Home Journal*, 1944.

The fiction of *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal* throughout the Depression and the Second World War was positioned by the editors of both magazines as quintessentially Canadian and therefore of importance to readers. Moreover, the magazines' representations of regional communities across Canada, discussions of women and their "club work" and political concerns, and celebrations of Canadian arts and letters created a framework of national identity through which the fiction could be—and was intended to be—read. In considering the ways in which fiction was discussed, described, and visually positioned on the pages of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, three components emerge as essential to making a story of national significance: the citizenship of the author, the author's accurate use of a Canadian location as the setting for her (or, sometimes, his) story, and the use of a contemporary social issue that was relevant to the everyday lives of the magazines' readers.

Made-in-Canada Fiction

The contents of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* were filled with works written by individuals who had either been born in Canada or immigrated from Britain or Europe and gained Canadian citizenship. (Notably, there are no writers of non-European origins published.) These writers range from now-canonized authors such as Martha Ostenso and L.M. Montgomery to now-obscure authors such as Beryl Gray and Carl Kristiansen. All were introduced in either an editorial column or a blurb that appeared next to the story, and these introductions highlighted the author's nationality as Canadian and went on to identify the region of Canada in which they lived and worked.

The profiles of authors that accompanied the publication of the stories made the connection between Canadian nationhood and fiction clear. In September 1936, for example, the *Journal* introduced a new story by L.M. Montgomery, "The Use of Her Legs," in the editorial by including a photograph of Montgomery with a caption beneath it that described her as the "beloved Canadian author of *Anne of Green Gables* amid the wild flowers she loves" (2). The photograph was positioned directly to the right of the page's header, which read "CANADIAN HOME JOURNAL: Canada's National Woman's Magazine." To the left of the header, the *Journal* printed a photograph of the artist C.R. Wilcox, noting that he was "a native son of Nova Scotia, now resident in

Toronto, who is busy these days painting the illustrations for the Louis Arthur Cunningham serial novel, *Fog Over Fundy*" (2). Cunningham, as noted in Chapter One, was a Canadian author who lived in, and wrote most frequently about, life in contemporary New Brunswick. Viewed as a whole, the photographs, captions, and header create a series of visual and textual links between the magazine, authors and artists (Montgomery, Cunningham, and Wilcox), the Canadian context in which they worked (the Prince Edward Island setting of *Anne of Green Gables*, the Bay of Fundy in New Brunswick, and the Toronto workplace of Wilcox), and the means through which their work circulated (a magazine produced in Toronto and distributed to readers across Canada). By grouping the disparate creators of the magazines' contents together, and subsequently linking them to the readers, the editors of the magazines were able to generate a sense of nation-wide community into which each work of fiction was launched.

The editorials also introduced authors in a way that instilled both national pride and a feeling of personal connection between the author and the reader. As Byrne Hope Sanders, *Chatelaine*'s editor from 1929-1951, put it in the March 1939 editorial of *Chatelaine*:

> A famous Canadian name appears in this issue. Dorothy Roberts Leisner, whose story, "The Dress with the Blue Flowers," is her first published fiction, is a daughter of Theodore Goodrich Roberts, and a niece of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, accepted as the ideal of Canadian literature. I think you'll find a quality in this young Canadian writer's work which will give you pleasure. If you do, take the trouble to drop her a note to say so. Canadian magazines are doing steady work in presenting the work of our young writers, as well as the stories of those who are far-famed. It's an enriching experience to have a story published in a national magazine—but an infinitely greater one to have letters of appreciation and interest from men and women throughout the Dominion. Impresses the editors, too! (2)

Beyond connecting writers to readers, Sanders' editorial also set out an ideal standard for Canadian literature in the fiction of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, who had been the first recipient of the Royal Society of Canada's Lorne Pierce Medal for achievement in literature in 1925, while stressing the importance of magazines like *Chatelaine* in making newly-written fiction from both emerging and established writers available to readers "throughout the Dominion." The relevance of a Canadian readership to these authors was also emphasized in Sanders' suggestion that readers take up the pen and express their "appreciation and interest."

This interchange between author and reader, mediated by the editor, was given the feel of a friendly, ongoing conversation. In the editorials, *Chatelaine* was presented as an aid to the careers of new writers, not only by printing their stories, but by graciously soliciting responses from readers that could tell these new writers both who their audience was and what that audience thought of their efforts. Viewed from a rather cynical vantage, this kind of feedback could help authors fine-tune their "product" in a way that made it more marketable. It also assisted editors in determining which fiction would appeal to the widest range of readers, thus boosting sales of the magazines and giving them a sense of which writers to publish regularly. From a more generous vantage, the bond shared by the magazine, its creative artists, and its readers fostered a body of literature that was both popular and of a "high standard." Moreover, readers were encouraged to consider their opinions valuable and welcome, with the result that readers from across Canada were included in a national discussion. Their participation in the creation of Canada's literature also granted them a dignity normally reserved for literary critics. Indeed, the act of writing a letter offered the potential for a reader to become a published amateur critic in the letters-to-the editor pages. In this way, the literary choices made by the *Chatelaine* staff became part of the ongoing, dynamic process of developing Canadian literature. This development was fostered by discussion among author, publisher, and audience. While these three groups were never on the same footing—the editor, after all, had the power to determine which stories to publish and which readers' opinions to value most—the way in which Sanders discussed authors and addressed readers made everyone a part of a community working towards the same goal: a national literature which everyone could take pride in and enjoy.

As this process unfolded, the nation was configured as a community of individuals with shared concerns and tastes. While Sanders did not exclude non-

Canadian readers from writing to her, the implication was that *Chatelaine* readers, like *Chatelaine* authors, were Canadian. Her request for letters drew a boundary around the Canadian readership that, indirectly, made Canada a topic for discussion because the literature being discussed was intimately linked to the nation. As readers discussed the fiction, and the editors went on to select fiction with readers' opinions in mind, a particular image of Canada emerged. As I discuss in more detail later in this chapter, this image was always heavily idealized because romance fiction was the genre of choice for both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*. For the moment, it is worth noting that this idealization sketched out a mixture of the standards for behaviour that distinguished heroes from villains, the style of language considered appropriate (grammatically correct and endlessly polite), and the overall lifestyle (career, home, cultural choices) that were treated as essentially Canadian.

Both within and outside of the fiction, immigration was viewed as an experience at the heart of Canadian life. The editorial for the March 1935 issue of the *Journal*, for instance, celebrated the editors' discovery of a new author who was also a "new Canadian":

> Some little time ago we received "The Emancipation of Happy," found on page 7, and feeling that we had discovered a new writer, we wrote to the author, Carl Kristiansen, asking him to favour us with his photograph and a brief biography. Imagine our feelings of satisfaction when we learned that not only had we discovered a new writer but a new Canadian as well." (2)

The editorial goes on to explain that Kristiansen had emigrated from Denmark to Canada in 1914, and since then he had worked as a day labourer in Nova Scotia, British Columbia, and the Prairies. In the late 1920s, he studied commercial art at the Institute of Technology and Art in Calgary and at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. The piece concluded with a quotation from Kristiansen in which he says, "I am very happy and proud to have my first story published in a magazine maintaining so high a standard as *Canadian Home Journal*. I do hope that your readers will like the story of "Happy," so that you shall not regret giving me my first opportunity as a writer" (2). As the discussion of Kristiansen's biography makes clear, one key to being identified as a

"Canadian" author was citizenship, and this status did not entail having been born and raised in Canada. The celebration of Kristiansen as a new author and a new Canadian constructed Canada as a nation of immigrants, all of whom had a right and, in this case, an opportunity, to express their ideas and experiences in the national medium of mass-market magazines. It is important, too, that Kristiansen had lived in several distinct regions, as it suggests that he had come to know Canada well since his departure from Denmark. Most important of all, Kristiansen's biography communicates a desire for upward mobility and the power to improve one's circumstances in Canada through hard work and the good use of opportunity. Beginning as a labourer, Kristiansen moved on to receive an education and make a better life for himself. Now, with the help of the *Journal*, his literary aspirations were being realized. These twin ideas of self-improvement and the attainment of upper mobility are central to the representation of Canadian life in the fiction of the Depression.

Just as the magazines played up the citizenship and the geographical placement of their authors, the authors penned stories that played up specific Canadian locations and featured Canadian citizens as characters. The fact that these locations helped to distinguish Canadian fiction from its American competition surfaced as a rationale for selecting fiction on this basis. As Janet B. Friskney and Carole Gerson observe:

> In 1938 the literary editor of the *Canadian Home Journal*, Margaret Lawrence, [wrote] that "Canadian editors are always specially interested in the work of their own writers," but "they find a dearth of really acceptable material that will stand up against the pressure of competition from across the line, and … they like a Canadian locale if it is authentic and not just "dragged in." (131)

In keeping with this, the home of the author was also the location for her or his story, and it was this authentic representation of location—a representation based on lived experience—that was the key to "Canadian" fiction. The magazines were careful to represent regions from all across Canada, and to represent both rural and urban life. That said, the magazines did not represent characters who came from all backgrounds. Within the regional settings, characters consistently led comfortable middle-class lives, and they were always either British or European (but English-speaking after their arrival in

Canada) in origin. The location of the story was central to communicating images and ideas about specific regions and ways of life within those regions. As noted above, authors like Montgomery and Cunningham wrote fiction set regions in which they lived and about which, presumably, they were most knowledgeable. *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* also made sure to publish fiction that encouraged a sea-to-sea conceptualization of Canada's territory, with serials and short stories ranging from the coast of British Columbia to the farms of Saskatchewan, from the city of Montreal to the fishing villages of the Maritimes. Less evenly represented were the range of ethnic backgrounds of Canadians, as both magazines tended to portray the lives of Anglo-Canadians in their fiction. In keeping with this, a small percentage of fiction was set not in Canada, but in England. Notably, other European settings were never used in this way, nor was the United States (although New York was occasionally mentioned as a tourist destination). Britain's appearance as the only non-Canadian setting in the fiction draws attention to Canada's colonial heritage. Furthermore, the fiction made Anglo-Canadians representative of all Canadians, with non-British immigrants (as with the story "Spring Always Comes" taken up in Chapter One) typically being acculturated into the language and traditions of England. French Canadians were peripheral figures, and non-white characters were not present at all. In this way, the magazines set up a dominant identity that ignored the actual diversity of the Canadian population; moreover, this identity assumed an essential unity among Canadians that was grounded in race and language. As it circulated among readers—readers assumed to be white and English-speaking—this construction appeared both natural and ordinary.

That said, location and cultural representation, as much as they were elemental to the designation of a story as "Canadian,' could become conflicted terrain, as the discussion surrounding Beryl Gray's story "The Black Siberians" makes evident. Based in Vancouver, Gray was one of *Chatelaine*'s most-frequently published writers. Her story "The Black Siberians" was set on some vaguely described islands west of British Columbia, and it focused on an young woman from an English background's marriage into a family of Russian immigrants. It was a story that involved Gray and Sanders in a telling disagreement with readers over the representation of Canadian culture on the pages of *Chatelaine*.

"The Black Siberians" begins in Vancouver. Elinor, an office worker, becomes infatuated with Berkh, an accountant who works for the same firm that she does. They marry, and she follows him to his family farm, which is located on an unnamed island off of the northern coast of British Columbia. While Gray is very vague about the exact location of the island, Elinor's description of life there is grim in its details:

> She had [en]visioned something in the nature of a rich, handsome country estate—something vaguely sunny perhaps, like she had seen in glamorous films of Southern ranchlands—and shared Berkh's keen desire to leave the city and return to the life he knew so well. While this—snow, ice, and cold; sheep with their grimed, matted coats huddling together under their crude sheltering for warmth; and a farm in many ways as primitive as forty years ago—was the reality she must inure herself to face as Berkh's chosen wife. (10)

The cultural and social background of Berkh's family is also alien to Elinor, and she soon feels lonely and miserable. Berkh, unable to cope with her unhappiness, grows to care for her less and less, and she begins to spend more and more time with Berkh's cousin, Ivan. After several months on the island, Elinor learns that Berkh has been seeing another woman. Deceived as much by her own romantic imagining of coastal farmland that encouraged her to marry Berkh in the first place as she is betrayed by romantic love itself, Elinor decides to leave the island. Conveniently for Elinor, Berkh and his lover drown at sea on the same day that she makes this discovery, facilitating her departure and saving her from the frustrations of a divorce. She returns to Vancouver, but a year later Ivan turns up at the business offices to which she has returned to work, vowing his love to her. The story ends with Elinor's decision to marry Ivan and return with him to the island, this time with a more realistic vision of the life to which she is going.

While the story's plot of failed love followed by true love was not unusual in the fiction favoured by *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, Gray's use of setting and nationality proved to be of far more interest to at least one reader. In the October 1934 rendition of "The Last Word: Our Readers Have It" (*Chatelaine*'s letters-to-the-editor page), a reader identified as only "Disappointed Reader, Victoria," sent a sharp criticism of "The Black Siberians" to the editors. In her words:

> Why do you publish such stupidly un-Canadian stories as "The Black Siberians" by Beryl Gray? I live on the B.C. coast and was very disappointed with this story. What are the "Black Siberians" anyway? The lady who wrote this cannot possibly know much of her country, for there is absolutely no trace of farming of any kind on the islands of the north B.C. coast. On the southern islands only—those between Vancouver and the mainland—there is farming, but these are settled by English families, and the climate is as mild as the south of France. The northern islands are uninhabited except for periodic logging camps and fisherman. They are nothing but rock and timber with no cleared land or grazing on them, and to keep sheep would be an impossibility. This writer's "local color" is so irritatingly vague besides being quite wrong in essential facts that I cannot understand why you boost her every story as Canadian. (74)

Despite Sanders' emphasis on readers' opinions, and despite the accuracy of the readers' description of the islands west of British Columbia, *Chatelaine* chose to give the last word to Gray in this case. Prefaced with Sanders' statement that Gray was one of *Chatelaine*'s most popular writers, Gray began her response by defending her writing as fiction, not fact, arguing that "fiction is hardly in the same class as geography or natural history" (74) and that she was therefore free from the demands of stringent accuracy. Apparently determined to win the debate completely, however, Gray goes on to assert governmental authority over the geography and culture that she describes, noting that:

> Through the courtesy of a friend of mine in the Parliament Buildings at Victoria, I have checked the points [the reader] mentioned and really cannot feel that I have been as desperately inaccurate as she imagines. As you will see from the replies of the various Departments interested, that in addition to English families farming on the Gulf islands are Swedes, Germans, Norwegians, and Roumanians [and that] sheep farming is carried on Hardwicke Island and on the islands adjacent by people of varied nationalities. [...] And as for my title "The Black Siberians," has

> the good lady never heard of the 'black earth lands across Russia and Siberia?' " (74)

While Gray's apparent ignorance of the difference between Parliament and Legislature may well have caused further irritation to the reader, the debate over geography and the nationality of the characters in "The Black Siberians" was effectively ended by Gray's rebuttal. Despite the authority that Sanders and Gray exerted over the contents of *Chatelaine*, their response to "Disappointed Reader" illustrates two important things about the use of setting and character in fiction that constructed Canadian identity. First, fiction was granted the dubious luxury of being an untrustworthy genre. While the stories were presented as authentic portrayals of Canadian life, they inevitably had recourse to being imaginative rather than scholarly works, and could therefore misrepresent regions and cultures in ways that might easily escape the notice of less critical or less knowledgeable readers. If the writer was popular, as Gray was, possible inaccuracies were more likely to be defended than reprimanded. Second, and more importantly, the response of "Disappointed Reader" indicates the primacy of accurate settings and representations of nationality—and Canadian life as a whole—to many readers. If a story was perceived to be inauthentic, some readers would reject it as "un-Canadian," and voice their opinion of what was Canadian within the pages of the magazines despite the uneven distribution of power between editors, authors, and readers. "The Black Siberians," then, illustrates how the mass-market fiction of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* not only influenced perceptions of Canada, but also drew out conflicts and debates over those perceptions.

Conflict and contentious issues were, in and of themselves, central to the fiction in the magazines during the Depression and the Second World War. These issues, which will be explored more fully in the following chapters, included the status of women, unemployment, labour riots, and various aspects of wartime patriotism and trauma. Because the magazines were published each month, they were able to keep pace with national and global events as they unfolded and, accordingly, the fiction in the magazines took up issues that were relevant to the everyday lives of readers.

This relevance was frequently highlighted by the editorial captions or "blurbs" designed to draw readers into the story. As the editorial introduction of the short story "All the Springs of My Life" by Robina Monkman, which had won first-place in a fiction competition, observed:

> Stories of merit arrived from all of Canada—from amateurs and professionals—over two hundred manuscripts. Ninety per cent dealt with the War. It is natural that this should be the topic of overall importance to Canadians; an indication that hearts are with men overseas and that hopes for the future mingle with serene memories of a "right" way of life. (*Canadian Home Journal* Aug. 1944 11)

The introduction went on to explain that "All the Springs of My Life" "poignantly and poetically" depicts these themes, and that the editors "confidently expect to publish such stories again, knowing that in every province Canadians are interested" (11). By drawing Canada as a group of writers and as a group of readers united in their concerns over the War, the editorial commentary generated an "imagined community" of citizens who shared experiences and concerns, on one hand, while setting up a framework through which the story ought to be read, on the other.

In itself "All the Springs of My Life" is written in the style of a letter from a wife, Jeanne, to her husband, Randall. Randall has gone overseas as an Air Force pilot, and at first it appears she is writing the kind of homey, cheerful, loving letter that wives and girlfriends were asked to send to soldiers. In the November 1943 issue of *Chatelaine*, for example, a full-page message sponsored by the Magazine Publishers Association of Canada asked "Are you helping him be a good soldier? What kinds of letters is your man getting overseas?" The message went on to admonish women not to worry soldiers with problems at home, but to "make him feel that you are with him, for him, proud of him; and send him all the love and happiness that your heart can give. Write him today…cheerfully!" (1). The fictional letter written by Jeanne reviews her romantic history with Randall, beginning with their childhood friendship and following through to their wedding in 1939. Shortly after their marriage, Randall joined the Air Force and departed for Europe, telling his wife:

> I want to help make the world safe for wives like you, Jeanne, and for all children everywhere like the ones we have dreamed of, dear; I want to be free to look up and see our flag floating in the breeze, free to stand to attention when the national anthem is played; free to express my thoughts aloud; free to live as we have lived. (32)

She supports his decision and they write to each other faithfully for four years—until Jeanne receives the telegram informing her of her husband's death. In this last letter, she writes to him as a memory, and concludes that flowers are blooming in England, where Randall is buried, just as they are in Canada, and that she will continue to live "all the springs of my life" as fully as she can as a sign of both devotion to her husband and respect for his sacrifice.

Patriotically saccharine, "All the Springs of My Life" is a typical example of the fiction most popular during the War. By dealing with a form of trauma faced by thousands of women, this story, and many others, took up a central anxiety and source of pain for many readers. It did not dwell too closely on this pain, however; rather, the news of Randall's death is withheld until the second-to-last paragraph of the 3000-word story. The heavy emphasis on memory, and the implication of a stable yet poignant future, enact the Janus-face nature of nationalism by connecting the trials of the past to an ideal future, thus giving meaning and sense to times of uncertainty and turbulence (Anderson 43). Moreover, Jeanne is a model Canadian: she supports her husband—and thus the war effort and the Canadian nation—without question, and she accepts her loss without bitterness because it is a loss suffered for the greater good. Finally, she looks forward to the future with faith that Randall has helped secure a future for Canada that will resemble her memories of a peaceful past.

Context: Modernism, Pulps, and Canadian Literary History

This treatment of Canada, not to mention the format and intended audience of the magazines themselves, set the literature of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* apart from other types of literature circulating in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century. Higher up on the literary hierarchy, little magazines and small presses participated in the modernist movement, while realist novels published by Macmillan and McClelland &

Stewart would go on to become the core of the Canadian canon. Lower down on the hierarchy, pulp magazines made sensational fiction available to a largely working-class audience. Between these two poles, the fiction in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* were at the centre of middlebrow literary production in Canada. As such, they tell us much about the mainstream Canadian identity that they constructed for and through readers. In order to understand this construction fully, it is necessary to review the historical and cultural context in which the magazines circulated, and, in particular, to explore the ways in which their status as middle-class, mass-market women's magazines influences their critical reception.

Modernist literature was the high literature during the inter-war years, with little magazines and independent presses being the birthplace of modernist movement. Little magazines were "designed to print artistic work which for reasons of commercial expediency were not acceptable to the money-minded periodical presses" and restricted to "a limited group of intelligent readers" (Hoffman et. al. 2-4). In defining "the name and nature of modernism," the literature these magazines made public embodies a "remarkable age of experiment, innovation, discovery, and outrage" (Bradbury and MacFarlane 11). In this respect, little magazines and small presses were markedly different from mass-market magazines, given that mass-market magazines typically published genre fiction written in everyday language that appealed to a wide audience. Some of the most famous modernist magazines and small presses include *The Dial* (which published "The Waste Land" in 1922), *The Little Review* (which published *Ulysses* as a serial until it was banned in 1920), *The Egoist* (which was edited by Ezra Pound), The Hogarth Press (which was run by Virginia and Leonard Woolf, and published Woolf's books as well as those of E.M. Forster and Robert Graves, among others), and Shakespeare & Co. (which published the first edition of *Ulysses*). The publication of modernist works in forums far less commercial than mass-market magazines is a defining feature of modernist texts. For example, when Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare & Co. published *Ulysses*, Joyce and Beach agreed

> on the kind of publication they wanted. It would be a deluxe edition of 1,000 copies to appear in three issues, that is printed on three different grades of paper

> with corresponding prices. Each copy would be numbered, with copies of the most expensive issue autographed by Joyce. [...] The difference between a limited and an ordinary edition was more than a matter of paper quality. It extended to every feature of the book: price, royalties, discount structure, audience, and authorial control. (Rainey 55-56)

In poetry, T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound were very particular about having Eliot's poem "The Waste Land" published in the American literary magazine *The Dial* rather than the mass-market magazine *Vanity Fair* or the little magazine *The Little Review*. Lawrence Rainey names two reasons for their particularity. First, *The Dial* was willing to give Eliot the annual Dial Award, worth $2000, whereas *Vanity Fair* could offer at most $100 and *The Little Review* could not afford to pay contributors at all; second, Eliot and Pound were concerned with

> the intangible issue of status and popularity. *Vanity Fair* was not a popular magazine of the same sort as the *Saturday Evening Post*, but its substantial circulation and light-hearted tone could not sound the note of aesthetic gravity associated with *The Dial*. Eliot wanted the poem to be successful, but not too successful. (Rainey 51)

In this way, modernist authors and publishers viewed slick magazines as an inferior medium, with their "substantial circulation" serving as a threat to the prestige that some modernist writers sought. This prestige, according to Andreas Huyssen, was bound together with an aversion to the mass market and a desire to make art autonomous from the commercial sphere. As he argues, "the emergence of early modernism in writers such as Flaubert and Baudelaire cannot be adequately understood on the basis of an assumed logic of "high" literary evolution alone. Modernism constituted itself through a conscious strategy of exclusion, an anxiety of contamination by its other: an increasingly consuming and engulfing mass culture" (vii). While Rainey suggests that Huyssen might be overstating the importance of this division, as "a rigorous opposition between "high" and "low" culture may be inadequate to account for the complexity of cultural exchange and circulation in modern civil society" (34), the division itself is elemental in defining the value and meaning of a given literary text. As Pierre Bourdieu argues in "The Field of Cultural Production":

> the literary or artistic field is at all times the site of a struggle between the two principles of hierarchization: the heteronomous principle, favourable to those who dominate the field economically and politically (e.g. "bourgeois art") and the autonomous principle (e.g. art for art's sake), which those of its advocates who are least endowed with specific capital tend to identify with degree of independence from the economy, seeing temporal failure as a sign of election and success as a sign of compromise. (40)

The fiction of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, with its advertising, expanding subscription base, and appeals for readers' opinions, was far from autonomous. At the same time, it was designed for a national audience, whereas the modernist movement was international in scope. The national focus of the magazines made it a literature that was a lowly other to works of high art from abroad.

Ken Norris expresses the sense of Canada's distance from the modernist movement in his discussion of Canadian little magazines published between 1925 and 1980. He argues that the literature in these periodicals consisted of "moderate experimentation that progressed to more radical political and aesthetic development," and that modernist aesthetics in Canada were not fully realized in the 1960s. While he names *The McGill Fortnightly Review* (1925-27) and *The Canadian Mercury* (1928-29) as Canada's first, and failed, attempts at creating modernist little magazines, he skims over the 1930s as a decade in which little happened, and maintains that the 1940s continued to be a period of restraint for literary experimentation, with the periodicals *Contemporary Verse* (founded in 1941), *Preview* (1942), and *First Statement*s (1942) being the only periodicals of note. Contending that the 1930s were, in fact, a period of literary ferment, Dean Irvine critiques both Norris and Louis Dudek, Norris' predecessor on the history of little magazines, for their dismissal of the decade. Where Dudek argued that "Canada in the 1930s had no "little magazine" or "little press" movement: no magazines of poetry and experiment representing the rebellion of the creative minority against the profit-motive literature of mass literature" ("Role" 207, qtd. in Irvine 5), Irvine posits that if the "rebellion" that marks little magazines is expanded to included political rebellion in the form of leftist politics, then Canada did indeed have a lively little magazine culture. He goes on to argue that these magazines offer insight into the work of the writers and editors who ran them, and that the critical neglect of these magazines (*Masses*, *New Frontier*, *The Canadian Forum*, and *Canadian Poetry Magazine*) stems from the fact that they were often written and edited by women. According to Irvine, their marginalization from the history of little magazines in Canada is an indicator "of the extent to which masculinist discourse has so far shaped the historiography of Canadian little magazines" (Irvine 8). In this respect, little magazines in Canada, as different as they were in scope and purpose from mass-market magazines, do have something in common with them, as both types of periodical have been overlooked, causing the contributions of their writers, editors, and readers to be left out of the historical record.

In contrast, much of the literature of the 1930s and 1940s to be canonized was written in the form of realist novels that were published by Macmillan, one of Canada's two main publishers of novels. At the same time, the critics of the era focused almost entirely on male authors in their assessments of Canadian literature, with the only female author to attract significant attention being Mazo de la Roche. de la Roche, who published serials and short stories with *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, had won international acclaim in 1927 when *The Atlantic Monthly* awarded her its prestigious—and, at $10 000, profitable—Book Award for the novel *Jalna*. She was not an author who could be readily ignored, yet critics were careful to separate her out from her realist contemporaries by naming her an author of "idylls" (Pacey 190) and "romance" (Frye 837). Macmillan, her publisher, printed *Jalna* in 1927 (and re-printed it in 1929 and 1932), *Portrait of a Dog* in 1930, *Finch's Fortune* in 1931, *Explorers of the Dawn* in 1932, *The Master of Jalna* in 1933, *The Whiteoak Harvest* in 1936, *Growth of a Man* in 1938, and *The Building of Jalna* in 1942. Macmillan also published novels by authors Morley Callaghan (*Such is My Beloved* in 1934, *They Shall Inherit the Earth* in 1935, *Now That April is Here* in 1936) and Frederick Philip Grove (*The Yoke of Life* in 1930, *The Master of the Mill* in 1944), as well as two novels by Leslie Gordon Barnard (*Jancis* in 1935 and *So Near a Grandeur* in 1945), a writer whose serials and short stories frequently appeared in the *Journal* and who served as the president of the Canadian Author's Association from 1937-39. Macmillan was able to continue publishing new Canadian novels partly because some of their authors—particularly de la Roche and Callaghan—had won critical recognition and, de la Roche's case, widespread popularity. The company also sustained itself during the Depression by publishing textbooks, which gave them a steady income from the educational sector, and by re-printing successful British novels.

McClelland & Stewart, Canada's other key book publisher, struggled more during the 1930s. As Jack King notes:

> in 1936 and 1937, the company's fortunes hit rock bottom: sales in 1936 totaled $196 000, whereas the figure for 1919 had been $413 000. During the Depression, many of the older, well-established writers, such as L.M. Montgomery and Ralph Connor, were past their prime in the marketplace (first printings of these two writers had been between twenty-five and fifty thousand; by 1947-48, they were thirty-five hundred to eight thousand). (4)

While the company would go on to publish Gabrielle Roy and Thomas Raddall in the years following the Second World War, the lack of new novels in the 1930s and early 1940s lends itself to Desmond Pacey's 1952 lament that during the Depression:

> the publishing trade was unable, in the circumstances, to take risks on obscure and experimental writers. The thirties was consequently a relatively barren decade in Canadian literature. Of the four leading young Canadian poets—Scott, Klein, Kennedy, and Smith—only Kennedy published a volume (The Shrouding, 1933) prior to the outbreak of World War II. The others had to be content with publication in the joint anthology *New Provinces* (1936). No new novelists of major significance appeared, and even established novelists like Frederick Philip Grove and Morley Callaghan found it difficult to get their work published. (113)

In contrast to this barrenness, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* offered new writers like Beryl Gray or Carl Kristiansen a chance to publish their work. They also circulated original fiction by de la Roche, Ostenso, Barnard, and Montgomery, yet both magazines have been excluded from discussions of Canadian literature. The rationale for their exclusion is clearly articulated the 1938 address to Canadian listeners made by critic E.K. Brown as part of a radio series on Canadian literature broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In Brown's words:

> Our "quality" periodicals have a meagre circulation; none of them is heavily endowed; some of the best among them are unable to offer any payment whatever, and what the others pay would keep a writer in cigarettes and coffee and that is about all. Our "slick" magazines can, of course, do better; for all I know it may be true that if a writer for the slicks will work like an operative in a sweatshop, and if he has the rare knack of turning out exactly the right kind of story or article, he may manage to keep a roof over his head and even some butter in the pantry. But slicks are not literature and can do nothing to promote it; nothing more need be said of them. (11)

Samuel Morgan-Powell's address to the Canadian Author's Association in 1940 reflected similar views when he expressed his anxiety over Canada becoming:

> a magazine public—that is to say, a mass public whose reading is confined almost entirely to magazines. Now there are, of course, good magazines, well worthy of regular perusal, although I fear that the vast majority of the present-day "slick" magazines are types that provide only the most transitory enjoyment, and which more than counter-balance even that sparse satisfaction by the appalling amount of misinformation and misleading impressions and views of life that fill their pages. (9)

Morgan-Powell's comments were, perhaps, a tad insulting to two of the presidents of the Association—Leslie Gordon Barnard, who, as noted earlier, was a regular contributor to the *Journal*, and Madge MacBeth, whose short fiction appeared regularly in *Chatelaine*. The fact that they were willing to circulate their work in mass-market slicks suggests two important things about Canadian literature of the 1930s and early 1940s. First, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* made the current works of Canadian authors readily available at an affordable price to a Canadian readership that was not spending its money on novels or "quality" periodicals. Second, the authors of these works considered the magazines venues of sufficient quality for publishing their work. These authors also received income for their writing through magazine publication that the book publishers could not offer them, thus helping them continue to write and publish despite the scarcity of the Depression. By excluding such literature from Canada's literary history, we lose both the opportunity to understand the texts that a great number of Canadian readers chose to read as well a chance to understand the ways in which Canadian authors continued to write in an era that was not conducive to literary success. At the same time, we miss the chance to explore the ways in which the medium of the mass-market magazine defined the status and style of the fiction these authors were able to publish.

As a final note on the historical and cultural context in which *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* circulated, it is important to remember that the opposite pole to modernism was not slick magazine fiction, but the pulp magazines that were hugely popular from 1920 to 1950. While Canada sustained its own pulp publishing industry during the War, these magazines were imported by the millions from American publishers such as Street & Smith and Fawcett during the 1930s. The difference between pulps and modernist publications map out the distinctions between high literature—modernism and, to some extent, the realist novels published in Canada during this period—and low literature. Where modernism and realist novels were published as the unique literary utterances of specific, highly individual authors, pulp fiction had its origins among the author-collectives writing in "fiction factories" for nineteenth-century dime novels (Denning 23) and, in the twentieth century, pulp stories were often written by either one author publishing under a range of pseudonyms (M. Smith 281) or individual writers whose focus was on factory-like prose production rather than the creation of unique art (E. Smith 21). This factory-like prose production also gave itself over to formulaic fiction written in language that was accessible to readers who were less educated, thus removing itself from linguistic experimentation and the development of a unique personal style. At the same time, the contents of the stories tended to focus on less savoury aspects of contemporary life, with crime, sex, and violence serving as key elements of most plotlines. Last, the pulps sought to reach the widest audience possible. They reaped huge profits for the companies that published them, with roughly ten million pulps selling each week in the United States. Pulp publishers maximized these profits by printing pulp fiction on cheap pulp paper wrapped in tawdry covers designed to attract the readers' attention at the newsstand.

Unlike pulp magazines, which featured fiction written by authors who were more often than not construed as generic or even anonymous figures, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* published fiction that followed the conventions of the romance genre, and they made a point of highlighting the individuality of their authors. These authors, however, were not portrayed as literary geniuses; rather, they were set out as Canadians who were much like the readers in their concerns and intellectual or creative capacity. The editors, for their part, embodied the personality of the magazines. Notably, the editors of mass-market women's magazines often served for decades, giving the magazines a sense of long-lived individuality associated with that person. The American *Ladies' Home Journal*, for instance, was edited for thirty years (1889 to 1919) by Edward Bok, while the mass-market fashion magazine *Vogue* was edited by Jessica Davies for thirty-seven years (1914 to 1951). In Canada, Byrne Hope Sanders edited *Chatelaine* for twenty-two years (1929-1951), and C. Wilma Tait oversaw the *Journal* for seventeen years (1930-47). As much as the magazines were enmeshed in consumerism, they avoided the editorial anonymity of the pulps. At the same time, the longevity of both magazines, and the extended editorships that was conjoined to this longevity, made them markedly different from the often short-lived little magazines. It was possible for editors like Sanders to establish a rapport with readers that was sustained over the decades through her editorials, not to mention the photograph of her that occasionally appeared in *Chatelaine*. In this way, women's mass-market magazines humanized themselves; they distanced themselves from the status of a mass-market commodity nature by attaching the printed product—the magazine—to a unique individual whose greatest interest was, ostensibly, to share news and literature with her readers. Such individuality once again located *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* mid-way between the semi-anonymous publication of pulps and the highly individual publication of modernist texts.

At the same time, the readers constituted a mass audience that was, nonetheless, a more select audience than that of the pulps. The difference in levels of popular success is clear in the difference between circulation figures. Where a given pulp magazine could sell millions of copies in the United States each month, a top-selling mass-market women's magazines such as the American *Cosmopolitan* reached a peak subscription base of 1 700 000 in the 1930s. *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, as noted in Chapter Two, took pains to announce and celebrate the subscription figures of that would surpass the quarter-million mark in the 1940s. As with "The Waste Land," Canadian women's mass-market magazines needed "to be successful, but not too successful" (Rainey 53). In their middlebrow cultural position, they upheld a boundary that excluded working-class pulp readers and catered to the needs and self-image of the middle class; they addressed themselves to a mass audience, but they were selective about the breadth and quality of the masses included in their editorial purview.

Firmly placed between high culture and low culture, the literature in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* has received little critical attention. The current work on this body of literature includes Valerie Korinek's overview of key themes in Chatelaine fiction during the 1950s and 1960s, and Marie-José Des Rivières's *Châtelaine et la littérature* takes up the fiction published in the French-language version of *Chatelaine* (founded in October 1960) from 1960 to 1975, but the fiction from the period at stake here has yet to be closely examined. As Nicola Humble argues in her study of British sentimental novels of the 1920s-1950s, "while the lowbrow has undergone a process of critical reclamation in recent decades, with the development of popular culture studies as a legitimate area of academic interest, the middlebrow has remained firmly out in the cold" (3). Further to this, Laurie Langbauer argues that the female readers and romance texts are "yoked" together in a manner that devalues both. As she puts it, "women and romance are constructed within the male order and the established tradition of prose fiction that grows out of and upholds that order; they are constructed as marginal and secondary in order to secure the dominance of men and novels" (2). To put it another way, the middling nature of the fiction, its classification as romance, and its female readership have caused the literature of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* to go unstudied. Yet, this literature offers an understanding of the concerns of women readers, the restrictions on their lives—with the dependency of Canadian women on men and marriage that is glossed over in romances being one such restriction—and the resistance to those restrictions that is often explored in the serials and short stories. It also tells us about the construction of Canadian identity, an identity that is markedly different from the one derived from the realist novels that have traditionally been the focus of literary studies.

The assessment of literature's power to articulate Canadian identity took shape in Carl F. Klinck's 1965 *A Literary History of Canada*. Describing the *History* as an embodiment of the "cultural life of the country," Klinck's book was the first to include a survey and discussion of literature of the 1930s and 1940s. According to Robert Lecker, its appearance "was a signal event that transformed the making of Canadian literary history and permanently altered the country's critical and creative landscapes" ("Quest" 283). The Conclusion that Northrop Frye wrote for the book was, arguably, the most influential part of it because "Frye stressed the importance of regionalism in other writings on Canadian culture, yet his Conclusion is predominantly concerned with making essential connections" (DeCook 79). These essential connections were grounded in Frye's formulation of the "garrison mentality" evoked in Canadian literature. According to Frye, Canadian literature is structured around the following imagery and concerns:

> small and isolated communities surrounded with a physical or psychological "frontier," separated from one another and from their American and British colonial sources: communities that provide all that their members have in the way of distinctively human values, and that are compelled to feel a great respect for the law and order that holds them together, yet confronted with a huge, unthinking, menacing, and forbidding physical setting—such communities are bound to develop what we may provisionally call a garrison mentality. (830)

Picking up on this perception, Margaret Atwood's 1972 *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*, a book designed to be used by school and college teachers in need of ways to introduce Canadian texts to their students, pulled together Canadian literature under the themes of victimization and survival, with Canada's status as a colony feeding into a literature in which the protagonists are victims, while the vast wilderness of the Canadian landscape figures in plots about enduring against the odds (35). In subsequent decades, Frye's "garrison mentality" and the theme of survival have been revised, although they continue to be the starting point for discussions of Canadian identity as it is constructed through literature. As Travis DeCook notes in his review of the aims and potential of the History of the Book in Canada project:

> Today, concepts such as Klinck's "cultural life of the country" (Introduction xi) and Frye's "Canadian imagination" (830) are largely perceived as homogenizing, essentializing, and exclusionary. Frye's underlining of the role of the garrison mentality in shaping the "Canadian imagination" was frequently received and employed by critics as a totalizing explanation of national identity. Moreover, the Conclusion was written at a time when literary study was for the most part divorced from examinations of social and political factors such as gender, class, race relations, colonialism, religion, and ethnicity. (72)

The movement away from a "totalizing explanation of national identity" has taken several forms. Linda Hutcheon, for example, points out that feminist literary research and an increased concern with multiculturalism have altered perceptions of, and approaches to, the study of Canadian literature (vii). Instances of this work include Smaro Kamboureli's anthology *Making a Difference: Canadian Multiculturalism in English*, which seeks to bring writers who "by virtue of their race and ethnicity belong the manifold margins that the Canadian dominant society has historically devised" (2) into contemporary literary studies, while Carole Gerson, Claudine Potvin, and Dean Irvine have worked to recover contributions made by women to Canadian literature from the historical record with, respectively, *Canada's Early Women Writers, Women's Writing and the Literary Institution*, and "Little Histories: Modernist and Leftist Women Poets and Magazine Editors in Canada, 1926-56." In a different vein, studies of the launch of the New Canadian Library, a series of cheap paperback re-prints of Canadian literature that was founded in 1958 by McClelland & Stewart, explore the material underpinnings that shape the formation of a national literature (Lecker, *Making it Real* 171) and the difficulty of arriving at a "mainstream Canadian literature" for the decades before the Second World War because "there was a highly colonial atmosphere in which a national culture was not valued because it was national" (Groening 101). In turn, Jonathan Kertzer chooses to "worry the nation," arguing in his study of works ranging from Oliver Goldsmith's "The Rising Village," to E.J. Pratt's *Towards the Last Spike* to Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* that literature:

> makes the nation both possible and impossible, imaginable and intolerable. On the one hand, the nation owes its very life to literature, and to all the arts of cultural persuasion [...] on the other hand, literature exposes the national life as unjust, and even monstrous, because it has the paradoxical ability to criticize the ideology in which it is immersed and by which it is compromised. (12)

Seen in this light, the literature of Canada is site of conflict in two senses: first, the literature itself embodies and communicates conflicted messages that are open for interpretation among its readership; second, the literary analyses and cultural histories that seek to account for a body of literature and articulate its meaning to a nation of readers is constantly shifting in its approaches and imperatives. The changes to the ways in which Canadian literary history is now perceived include a politics of inclusion, a focus on cultural differences rather than national unity, and a desire for historical contextualization. Indeed, DeCook goes on to posit that the methodologies of book history, a field that has increasingly influenced Canadian literary studies over the last decade, can facilitate an understanding of both "the institutions that mediate our engagement with literature" (86) and the study of readers and reception to provide "a contextualization [that] could be involved with interventionary literary histories that decentre assumptions about cultural value and shed light on its construction" (86).

With this in mind, the following chapters take up the fiction published for a middle-class audience consisting primarily of women. Given the dearth of new novels published in Canada during the 1930s and early 1940s, and the small audience of little magazines, these magazines are a crucial means of understanding the reading lives of Canadian women and the circulation of literature from the Depression and the Second World War. The fact that *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* were able to increase their circulations during the most economically depressed decade of the twentieth century signals their appeal to readers and thus their importance to both their readers and to our current, critical understanding of Canadian literary history. Moreover, the magazines' fiction offer us new insights into the nature of national identity that was constructed in the 1930s and 1940s, as it was constructed through romance fiction intended for a female audience. As my discussion of the fiction from the mass-market magazines in the following chapters explores, this identity is far removed from that of the garrison mentality and survival; it is equally distinct from the diversity that researchers such as Hutcheon and Kamboureli would like to recover, as it is an unabashedly homogenous identity that coalesces around the image of the white, urban, middle-class, English-speaking Canadian. Moreover, by relating the literature to the ways in which magazines contextualized it for readers by particular editorial strategies tells us much about the construction of Canadian identity in terms of both the construction of readers as Canadians and the interpretation of the fiction itself as uniquely Canadian.

National Identity and Utopian Potential:
Interpreting the Fiction of **Chatelaine** *and the* **Canadian Home Journal**

While the magazines set out a framework of Canadian identity (authorship, location, event) through which the fiction could be read, and while they worked to construct their readership as a national community, the internal workings of the fiction itself illustrated this identity at work in the lives of a range of characters in an idealistic fashion. Throughout the Depression and the Second World War, the fiction published by the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Chatelaine* perpetually began with a situation drawn from real, typically current, events—such as labour riots and war—and ended with the realization of an idyllic scenario. By relying on a realist-romance structure in which a serious contemporary issue was taken up and then resolved on the side of utopian potential, authors (as well as readers and editors) were free to flirt with various forms of disaster while simultaneously escaping from the less-than-ideal situations they faced in their own lives. This escape was not complete, however, as the escapist qualities of the fiction were melded together with real people and places through the editorial insistence, outlined earlier, that Canadian stories be penned by Canadian authors and set in Canadian locations. At the same time, the narrative style and the characters in the fiction were designed to be an accurate representation of the daily actions, conversations, and mentalities of ordinary Canadians to which readers could relate. These "ordinary" Canadians, however, frequently made exceptional decisions followed by idealized actions, causing the stories to move from the exploration of a troubled world to the realization of an idyllic one. In these way, the fictitious achievement of a utopian world that was one and the same with Canada effectively made the fiction of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* during the Depression and the Second World War into tales of a model nation.

By negotiating between realistic representations of modern Canadian society and visions of utopia, the body of fiction contained in the magazines in fact participates in a part of a long tradition of romances that placed troubling elements from their respective contemporary societies within a story and subsequently transformed these elements in favour of justice, love, and a peaceful, prosperous future by the conclusion of the story. These works encompass, among other things, Greek plays dating from the first to third century B.C. (*Ephesian Tale, Daphnis and Chloe*), medieval poems dealing with courtly love (*Roman de la Rose, Le Morte d'Arthur*), Shakespearean plays (*The Winter's Tale, The Tempest*), the high literary novels (*Evelina, Pride and Prejudice*) of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the mass-market Harlequin romance novels of the twentieth century. Thematically, these diverse works are grouped together for two reasons: love is the impetus for the plot, and the resolution of the plot is, unequivocally, a happy one for the protagonists. As John Cawelti argues, romance is essentially a "moral fantasy [...] of love triumphant and permanent, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties" to result in "a permanently happy marriage" (42). As the range of texts briefly outlined here suggests, works that fulfill these expectations are classified as "romances." Endlessly flexible in terms of structure and contents, the romance is a genre that adapts itself to the changing historical circumstances and social mores of the era in which it circulates. For example, Anna Clark's research on the seduction narratives popular during the industrial revolution, in which an aristocratic libertine either seduces or rapes a "village maiden," have led her to argue that the romance narratives provided "a clear, defiant metaphor of the exploitation of the poor by the upper classes" (47), while Helen Taylor's research on the portrayal of Scarlet O'Hara as the romantic heroine of both the novel and the movie *Gone With the Wind* reveals a host of "white supremacist southern propaganda" and "aristocratic and bourgeois models of femininity" (115) that circulated during the Civil War and persist into the present. These examples remind us that the romance articulates two things at once. First, it expresses the utopian ideals of the society from which the narratives emerge and, second, it explores the social and political tensions that underwrite the narratives, tensions that often provoke the need for narrative in the first place. As Alison Light puts it, "romance imagines peace, security, and ease precisely because there is dissension, insecurity, and difficulty" (24).

The ways in which romance fiction incorporates and then resolves troubling facets of the society about which it is written is central to understanding the place that the stories have in the intellectual lives of their readers. As Scott McCracken argues in his book on contemporary genre fiction, *Pulp: Reading Popular Fiction*, the use of problems and events drawn from the contemporary social world in genre fiction facilitates the readers' imagining of both her own position in modern society and modern society as a whole. In his words:

> popular fiction can supply us with the narratives we need to resituate ourselves in relation to the world. The reader of popular fiction is actively engaged in the re-making of him- or herself and this act of re-making has utopian potential. (17)

In romance fiction, this utopian potential is perpetually under negotiation in two ways. First, the obstacles to the triumph of love, to use Cawelti's phrasing, typically mark the gap between society and utopia and, second, the realization of utopia at the end of the narrative is made possible through a combination of decisions and actions on the part of the protagonists, causing these decisions and actions to set out a body of ideals and principles. These ideals and principles are not universal, but an expression of—or, at times, a challenge to—the dominant ideology of the historical period and social world to which the narrative is connected. As Northrop Frye observes:

> The romance is nearest of all literary forms to the wish-fulfillment dream, and for that reason it has socially a curiously paradoxical role. In every age the ruling social or intellectual class tends to project its ideals in some form of romance, where the virtuous heroes and beautiful heroines represent the ideals and the villains the threats to their ascendancy. (186)

In their fiction, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* explore not only the ideals of the ruling social class, but also how these ideals were challenged by alternate ideals competing for the attention of Canadian readers. While I explore this in more detail in Chapters Four and Five, it is worth noting here that the serial fiction that was popular during the Depression combined a range of characters with competing desires and interests with intricate plots and a host of settings. Leslie Gordon Barnard's serial "The Winter Road," for example, traces the vicissitudes of a heroine who must make a series of choices that range from her potential marriage to a hard-core capitalist, her retreat from urban society into a superficially idyllic pastoral world (a world rapidly being eroded by urbanization in Canada), and her involvement in radical left-wing politics (see Figure 14). In these ways, the story portrays the inter-relationships between a variety of individuals and the social groups to which they belong, illustrates contemporary events such as the rise of socialism in Canada, and explores the choices and limitations faced by women.

Despite the wealth of possibilities for interpretation present in stories such as "The Winter Road," romance narratives have received a mixture of condemnatory, celebratory, and ambivalent attention from critics over the last forty years. The condemnation of romance narratives focuses on the repressive assumptions about the role of women in society that surface in the conclusion—marriage—of twentieth-century romance stories. In these conclusions, a seemingly natural gender division is maintained: women are characterized as emotional (and thus irrational), powerless to control their fates, and economically dependent, while men are shown to be rational (though emotionally stunted), possessing the power to control both their fate and the fates of others, and economically self-sufficient (if not independently wealthy). These inequalities between the heroine and hero are never upset; rather, they are maintained as an essential set of differences between women and men that can be navigated on the path to love but never fundamentally altered. The marriage at the close of the story also assumes that home and family provide the ultimate fulfillment for women and, in portraying this fulfillment, masks the financial dependency of women on men by focusing on the emotional relationship rather than the economic one. As Betty Friedan argued regarding romance fiction in American women's mass-market magazines of the post-Second World War era, "the image of woman that emerges from this big, pretty magazine is young and frivolous, almost childlike, fluffy and feminine; passive, gaily content in the world of bedroom and kitchen, sex, babies, and home" (19). In representing women in this way, some critics have argued that romance fiction serves as not only a re-enforcement of gender inequalities, but also a dangerous distraction from women's political self-awareness and pursuit of agency. According to Ann Barr Snitow, Harlequin novels are popular because their narratives offer readers a "particular sort of unreality [that] points to what elements in social life women are encouraged to ignore" (247). By glossing over the unease wrought by the social position of women, romance fiction naturalizes the restrictions inherent to this position.

In contrast to this assessment, some critics, and some romance authors, have celebrated the genre as texts that critique patriarchal power structures and promote female empowerment. As John Fiske points out regarding all forms of popular culture, the subordinated members of society select particular texts, images, and activities because these texts, images, and activities offer them a means of resistance to the status quo. In his words, "popular culture is made by subordinated peoples in their interests out of resources that also, contradictorily, serve the interests of the dominant" (2). By considering the ways in which a given instance of popular culture serves the interests of the subordinated—by understanding the elements of a text that make it appealing to readers—we can understand how "popular culture is an agent of destabilization and a redistribution of social power to the disempowered" (Fiske 8). Given that readers do, in fact, exercise agency in their choice of reading materials, the important question regarding romance is the question: what do the narratives offer readers? In pursuing an answer to this question, Tania Modleski's *Loving with a Vengeance* considers the psychological needs that were satisfied by the Gothic novels, Harlequin romances, and television soap operas that women chose to enjoy over other forms of culture, arguing that romance narratives illuminate "how women have managed not only to live in oppressive circumstances but [also] to invest their situation with some dignity" (14-15). Indeed, best-selling romance author Jayne Ann Krentz takes this argument a step further in pointing out that "the honorable, courageous, and determined woman always wins in the romance novel, making them novels of female empowerment" (114). Other critics, such as Valerie Hay and Carol Thurston, concur. Hay remarks that "it is possible to read romance as a survival manual in a world in which women's right to romance is legitimated as being one of the few "rights" to anything that women have" (16), while Thurston observes that the version of romance narratives represented by Harlequin novels maintain their appeal to readers by incorporating elements reflecting the changing status of women into their texts. For example, the novels of the 1980s moved away from hyper-feminine heroines in low-paying jobs and towards independent, career-oriented women who choose marriage for emotional reasons rather than because they require it for economic security (101-103).

In an effort to formulate concrete and specific reasons for the popularity of romance fiction, Janice Radway conducted ethnographic research on the reading habits of a concrete and specific group of American women. Her conclusions mark the profound ambivalence about romance narratives and their place in the reading lives of women. In her words:

> when the act of romance reading is viewed as it is by the readers themselves, from within a belief system that accepts as given the institutions of heterosexuality and monogamous marriage, it can be conceived as an activity of mild protest and longing for reform necessitated by those institutions' failure to satisfy the emotional needs of women. Reading therefore functions for them as an act of recognition and contestation whereby that failure is first admitted and then partially reversed. Hence, the Smithton readers' claim that romance reading is a "declaration of independence" and way to say to others, "This is my time, my space. Now leave me alone."
>
> At the same time, however, when viewed from the vantage point of a feminism that would like to see the women's oppositional impulse lead to real social change, romance reading can also be seen as an activity that could potentially disarm that impulse. It might do so because it supplies vicariously those very needs and requirements that might otherwise be formulated as demands in the real world and lead to the potential restructuring of sexual relations. (213)

Valerie Korinek arrives at a similar conclusion regarding the romances published in *Chatelaine* in the 1950s and 1960s:

> the stories vividly illustrate social fissures and discontent as the female characters strain against and question the prescribed limits of their world and engage in moderate rebellion (most often within their own minds), only to accept the slightly modified or rethought status quo at the end. (229)

This situation echoes the situation described by Mary Vipond in "The Image of Women in Canadian Mass Circulation Magazines in the 1920s." As Vipond notes, "short story after short story as well told of housewives fed up with the toil and monotony of their daily round who tried to escape either by taking a job or by running away. Inevitably, however, the heroine learned her lesson and returned in the end, happy, to her duty" (12). These tensions, between the "social fissures" and "status quo," and between "escape" and "duty," are the focus of the following chapters.

Picking up on Modleski's argument that the appeal of romance fiction lies in its power to lend dignity to oppressive circumstances, I argue that the emphasis on Canadian identity and nationhood in the fiction of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* offered women the dignity of a role beyond that of romantic heroine, wife, and mother. Namely, the fiction offered women an identity grounded in their national citizenship; this identity was both individual and communal, as characters in the short stories organized their lives around a mixture of personal desires and the demands and rewards of belonging to the wider community of Canada. Elsie Fry Laurence's 1945 short story "Going Home," for example, shows how the protagonist, Clare, had successfully raised her infant son, supported herself and her child through a meaningful job as a teacher, and participated in a variety of volunteer activities for the war effort while her husband was overseas. Such characters are fictionalized—and often watered-down—versions of the women featured in the non-fiction content of the magazines. While I take up the portrayal of women and their war work in Chapter Five in more detail, it is worth noting now that non-fiction pieces on the work of women as mechanics, nurses for the Red Cross, and officers with the Canadian Women's Army Corps connect the realistic portrayals of women's war contributions to their representation within the fictionalized setting of the nation. In this way, women are constructed as national subjects working for the realization of an ideal—that is, a peaceful, secure, and prosperous—Canada.

Conclusion

In their treatment of women, the fiction of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* did more than construct women as national subjects in that the magazines also construct an idealized Canadian identity for all of the nation's citizens—women, men, and children alike. The serials and short stories of both magazines configure this identity within and through the fiction by making the site of the utopia configured at the end of the romance story one and the same as the site of daily reading practices: Canada. In this way, Canada is treated as both the realistically-portrayed backdrop against which the private life of individual characters and the idealized world to which characters contribute either consciously or unconsciously as they live out their fictitious lives. The fiction of the magazines thus teaches us a great deal about how Canada was popularly imagined and the ways in which an ideal state—a state of being and a state of nationhood—could be realized. Yet, to return to Northrop Frye's observation that romances tend to resolve in a way that upholds the ideology of the dominant class, the Canadian identity that emerges from the magazines' romances is marked by both competing social politics that surfaced as obstacles in the way of love and the idealization of a narrowly-defined yet mainstream way of life. What is this utopian, wish-fulfillment dream? To put it simply, it is middle-class life.

Throughout the many stories of the Depression and the Second World War, middle-class life and its accoutrements are, almost inevitably, the way of life entered into by the protagonists at the close of the story. This lifestyle encompasses a comfortable home, a college education, access to and enjoyment of books, the freedom to travel, a knowledge of art, music, and theatre, and a circle of friends to invite for dinner parties. Typically, characters are either modestly wealthy through discreetly undisclosed means or they are a part of the urban professional class, with physicians, architects, engineers, and successful artists (usually writers and painters) being the most popular professions. Notably, bankers and the owners of corporations are never figured in heroic roles; rather, they were the villains of the stories and the source of the problems faced by the better characters. Indeed, "The Winter Road," to be discussed in the next chapter, characterizes the capitalistic accumulation of wealth as the result of greed and unethical opportunism that must eventually be punished. Poverty, the polar opposite of wealth, was to be equally feared. Stories such as "Spring Always Comes," as discussed in Chapter One, suggests that poverty is a temporary misfortune that can be overcome through a combination of diligence and community-building, and that a better economic life is available for Canadians who seek it.

As a corollary to being middle class in the 1930s and 1940s, characters were also resoundingly white—meaning that they or their families had immigrated from Britain or Europe and, if they were European, they had adopted English as their first language—and heterosexual—meaning that they were either married or destined to be married by the end of the story. This narrow definition of Canadian identity as it was posited in popular fiction has been the subject of recent study in such works as Daniel Coleman's *White Civility: The Literary Project in English Canada* and Cecily Devereux's *Growing a Race: Nellie McClung and the Fiction of Eugenic Feminism.* In Coleman's examination of popular texts (ranging from poems to formulaic novels to speeches) drawn from the 1850s to the 1950s, Coleman identifies and analyses:

> four representative figures that recur in popular Canadian narratives of the period—the Loyalist brother, the enterprising Scottish orphan, the (Protestant) muscular Christian, and the maturing colonial son—to examine the ways in which these allegorical figures functioned in these elite groups' projected visions of the emerging nation to inculcate and naturalize the values of British civility that came to define the particular ideals of Canadian whiteness. Of course, these four figures form a list that is far from exhaustive, but a close examination of them and their remarkable reiteration over a hundred years of Canadian literary culture proves a productive way to examine not just the construction but also the fissures in the edifice of what has become known as English Canada, the senior partner of Canada's two White so-called founding nations. (37)

The study of these four figures pursues not only the racist elements of the popular texts at stake in Coleman's work, but also the heavily masculinist treatment of Canada's national narrative these texts present. The question of femininity, and women's place in the national narrative, is of course, the subject of "Model Nation." To this end, Devereux's work on Nellie L. McClung—a feminist and nationalist figure who was featured from time to time on the pages of both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*—helps us understand the anxieties and contradictions of both McClung's writing in particular and of racism, feminism, and nationalism more generally during the first half of the twentieth century. Taking up two works of fiction by McClung ("Babette," a short story published in 1907 in *Canada West*, and "Red and White," a serial published from November 1921 to February 1922 in the *Western Home Monthly*) that "focus on First Nations people who have already been "re-formed," in both cases through residential or mission schools" (Devereux 125), Devereux argues that:

> "Red and White" and "Babette" are perceptible as racist narratives, working to implement assimilationist ideas, based on stereotypical notions of indigeneity, and represented as an effect of the eugenic work of the imperial mother who is delineated in so much of McClung's fiction. They are also—particularly "Babette"—arguably struggling to see outside of their contemporary ideological frame, even as they demonstrate their concern with facilitating Anglo-Saxon settlement and imperial regeneration in the West through the work of women. McClung shows signs of similar struggles in much of her writing. She supported open-door policies of immigration at a time when many Canadians saw "foreigners" flooding the labour pool ("We Must Share"). She indicated on other occasions that conflict between the white settler culture and non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants was the result of white prejudice: "If the foreigners of Canada are to be taught to be loyal they must have something to be loyal to, and the best thing to be loyal to is a friend. We want them to love our flag, but the only way to make them love the flag, is to make them love us. Legislation won't take the place of neighborliness; we need a new spirit in our people" (*Maclean's*, July 1919, 93). This sentiment is of course still based on the binarized sense of Canadian "us" and foreign "them" […] but it is also arguably indicative of a kind of thinking *against* the period's racism. (138)

The fiction published in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* was less ambivalent than the fiction that Devereux analysis. Rather, the emphasis on whiteness and civility comes through clearly in stories such as Melanie Benet's "Trial by Thunder," while the pressure for new Canadians to assimilate themselves linguistically and culturally into the pre-existing culture of Canada as a part of settling the West is elemental to "Spring Always Comes." The Brenzovas (originally from what was Czechoslovakia at the time) willingly adopt English as their new language because they view doing so as one way of becoming truly Canadian. First Nations people, immigrants from non-European countries, and people with mixed parentage were simply excluded from the fiction of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*, with their exclusion attesting to both the nature of Canadian identity that the magazines adopted and the power of fiction to naturalize this identity in the national imagination; in turn, the possibility of being homosexual, lesbian, or bisexual was unmentioned and, so, unimagined in the fiction. As a whole, then, the fiction explored in Chapters One, Four, and Five both signal and embody the powerful, unspoken insistence that to be a part of the Canadian utopia required being white, middle-class, and heterosexual.

With these things in mind, Chapters Four and Five pursue the ideas about—and the ideal of—the Canadian nation that was generated through the fiction published in *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal*. Each work of fiction that I take up uses the triad of authorial citizenship, Canadian setting and characterization, and the use of a contemporary social issue relevant to readers. In Chapter Four, I focus on one short story, "Family Style" by Clara G. Turner, and one lengthy serial, "The Winter Road" by Leslie Gordon Barnard. Both stories pursue themes that underwrote much of the fiction from the time. In "Family Style," for example, family bonds and the resistance to traditional gender expectations are central to the resolution of the plot, while "The Winter Road" navigates Canada's nascent industrialization and the competition between capitalist values and socialist ones. In Chapter Five, I turn to the fiction of the Second World War. Short stories, usually 2 500 – 3 000 words in length were typical; I therefore take up four short stories that embody the recurrent anxieties and patriotic idealism of the war years. The first two stories deal with the early phase of the War, with "Soldier" by

Matt Armstrong taking a dim view of the Canadian nation's treatment of its citizens in the 1930s, despite its resolution in favour of nationalism, while "Lady Going West" by Jenethea York makes Canada superior to its imperial centre, England. The next two stories focus on the end of the War and the beginning of the post-war era. "Going Home" by Elsie Fry Laurence explores the domestic, private tensions that followed the repatriation of soldiers following the War, and "Airmail to Heaven" by Anne Allison attempts to reconcile personal loss with the demands of citizenship. As this brief outline suggests, the romance narrative and its Canadian backdrop adopted many forms and took up several pressing issues that were relevant to their Canadian readers. The Canadian identity that emerges as a result is, contradictorily, homogenously white and middle class, yet with filled the conflicts of class politics, the possibilities and dangers of nationalism, and the choices that women could make within the confines of either attaining or maintaining a socially acceptable degree of femininity and middle-class status.

Chapter Four

From Weddings to Riots: Fiction of the Great Depression

For two weeks the Cochran family went on its customary, hectic way. Patsy, slim and radiant, taking the eight o'clock every morning for Bullock's Book Shop.

Mrs. Cochran, a determined blue felt holding down her hurried grey hair, starting off in the car for the "Cochran Company Real Estate and Insurance."

Marty and Ann left for school. And Jane was left to do or stack the dishes. Perhaps a smuggled cigarette over her sketches. Mrs. Cochran prided herself that none of her daughters smoked.

--Clara G. Turner, "Family Style"

Henry Shroder was known as a man who kept his word, who dealt justly, who thought generously. She herself had heard him expand on theories he had of gradually putting control into his workpeople's hands. They had sounded Utopian then, though she read enough to know they were successful where tried honestly. But he had trusted others as he himself could be trusted; and men had laughed up their sleeves at him, and manipulated him, and brought him to lie in a mortuary chapel. Presently his end would be six feet of earth, and the dream he had dreamed would become a nightmare only of whirling machinery and time-clocks, and grinding efficiency, and extra profits.

--Leslie Gordon Barnard, "The Winter Road"

In this chapter, I explore two works of fiction that were granted particular significance by the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Chatelaine* during the 1930s. Clara G. Turner's short story, "Family Style," was published in the June 1934 issue of *Chatelaine*, and it garnered the admiration of—and a handful of criticism from—readers across Canada. As a result, the story stands as an exemplary instance of the style of fiction that the periodical circulated, and the documentation of its reception offers us a unique opportunity to understand the reading practices that defined its meaning to *Chatelaine*'s audience. The story itself, which narrated the everyday lives of the Cochran household as it prepared for a wedding, turned inward to consider family life in an uplifting, cheerful manner that may well have soothed some of the anxieties and deprivations of the Depression. A closer inspection of the story, however, reveals a subtle resistance to prescribed gender roles that gave the story its humour even as the story upheld the standard accoutrements of middle-class life as desirable. The second story, Leslie Gordon Barnard's "The Winter Road," represents the opposite pole of the fiction that circulated during the Depression. An eight-part serial, it was published in the *Journal* between November 1938 and June 1939, and the editors of the periodical lauded it as a particularly important work of Canadian fiction. Set in Montreal in the mid-1930s, the story mapped the social structure of contemporary Canadian society and explored the threat to individuals posed by both unfettered capitalism and socialist revolution. The tension between these two ideologies would have been particularly important to readers at the time, given the widening gap between rich and poor, the formation of new political parties grounded in socialist principles, and the labour protests and riots that marked the 1930s as a conflicted and sometimes volatile decade. Barnard's story eventually concludes on the side of harmony and, in doing so, suggests a set of principles that could lead to a more just and peaceful society. In this sense, both "The Winter Road" and "Family Style" were romances that pursued their respective visions of an ideal world that was one and the same with Canada.

Canada faced two national crises between 1928 and 1945: the Great Depression and the Second World War. As I discuss in Chapter Five, open discussions of the Second World War were omnipresent on the pages of both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* from

1939-45, with both magazines galvanizing readers into a community through nationalist rhetoric and a focus on the collective effort required for victory. In contrast, overt attention to the Depression from 1929-39 was conspicuous for its near-absence, and the contents of both the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* during these years suggest a myriad of contradictions over the problem of economic disparity in Canada and the influence that these disparities had on women. This is not surprising, given the uneven effects of the Depression on different groups within the Canadian populace.

The Depression was at its worst in 1933, the year before "Family Style" was published. Thirty per cent Canada's of labour force was unemployed and one in five Canadians was dependent on government relief. While wages dropped, prices dropped even more, enabling property owners and those with jobs to improve their standard of living while farmers, young people, small businessmen, and the unemployed bore the brunt of economic hardship. At the same time, Canada's different geographic regions were unevenly affected. In Saskatchewan, for instance, crop failures and the low price of wheat, combined with the province's dependence on agriculture, caused sixty-six per cent of the population to be on relief by 1931. The economy in the maritime provinces was already depressed, and the circumstances for most people continued to worsen during the 1930s. Although Ontario and Quebec suffered from unemployment, both provinces were more industrialized and economically diversified and were therefore less affected than the eastern and western provinces. As noted in Chapter Two, *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* drew their readerships from across all of these regions and classes. They therefore needed to appeal to as many readers as possible during the Depression. Any discussion of the Depression was a potentially divisive one that risked alienating some groups of readers by addressing others. Moreover, the expressed desire of *Chatelaine* to inspire and uplift readers ran counter to an engagement with a dispiriting topic that spoke to rifts in the community that *Chatelaine* wished to foster. For these reasons, both magazines could benefit from acknowledging the Depression as little as possible.

This is not to say that it did not enter the pages of the magazines at all, and in order to fully understand the fiction as it circulated during the 1930s, it is crucial to understand the context for the fiction as it was set up by the articles and advertisements that circulated in conjunction with short stories and serialized novels. In *Chatelaine*'s case, the articles and fiction typically avoided the Depression as a topic of discussion, but two letters from readers did bring it up in "The Last Word: Our Readers Have It" (*Chatelaine*'s 1934 the letters-to-the-editor page). A letter from "A Canadian Mother" in February 1934, for instance, explained that the lack of food during in her household was causing her to feel weak and exhausted, and that she feared "the long drawn-out "depression" [was] beginning to be deadly to thousands in like circumstances" (72). Her physical exhaustion spoke to the gruelling nature of the Depression for some of *Chatelaine*'s readers, yet the magazine's cookery pages, which featured three-course dinners in its monthly "Meals of the Month" menu page, did little to offer readers like her advice or support. Indeed, another letter-writer, who identified herself as "A Canadian Mother, Montreal" sent an angry missive to the magazine after reading an article that advised women to stay out of the workforce in order to avoid neglecting their children while simultaneously taking jobs away from men. As "A Canadian Mother, Montreal" explained, she and her husband had "scraped and saved every penny" over their seventeen-marriage only "to go and lose every cent we had in stocks four years ago" (July 1934 76). As a result, she had gone back to work as a stenographer out of necessity rather than choice. As she put it:

> I don't want to leave my children astray on the streets. But there are thousands of married women like me, who have helped to build a home and a family, who are forced to go to work in sheer defense of their children's health. Remember this when you condemn some married woman who goes to work every morning and must leave her children behind. (July 1934 76)

In this instance, the reader was effectively arguing that *Chatelaine* had failed to provide a fair and accurate representation of Canadian women's lives. As Beth Light and Ruth Roach Pierson point out in *No Easy Road: Women in Canada 1920s to 1960s*:

> The effects of the Depression were uneven across the country. Some regions and industries suffered greater hardships than others just as some individuals were affected more than others. As the prices of goods and services dropped after 1929, breadwinners with secure jobs and steady, relatively high incomes may

> have improved their family's socio-economic status. It was to the wives of these men, the women who controlled household employment and expenditures, that the editor of *Chatelaine* gave the advice to consumer goods and employ other women. As Sanders saw it, spending was the community of these "chatelaines." (237)

Such advice was effectively a failure to acknowledge the true circumstances of many *Chatelaine* readers, and this failure could prove alienating. "A Canadian Mother, Montreal"—and possibly the thousands like her—felt misrepresented and undermined by a magazine that purported to be "theirs," and such alienation was something that *Chatelaine* could not risk incurring as it expanded its readership. The letter from "A Canadian Mother, Montreal" signals the volatile nature of *Chatelaine*'s foray into a Depression-related issue, and avoiding such issues altogether was a means of preventing the magazine from straying into divisive territory.

The *Journal*, too, typically avoided discussing the Depression, yet it was somewhat more willing to acknowledge its effects than *Chatelaine*. Its attitude, however, was one of blithe optimism about Canada's future, and the pieces that the *Journal* published on the Depression consistently encouraged readers to adopt a positive attitude about the present and maintain hope for the future as a means of coping with economic vagaries. In this way, the *Journal* avoided focusing much on the actual difficulties of the Depression, and the divisions in readership that these difficulties exacerbated, by focusing instead on the dream of a prosperous future that included all readers. In January 1937, for instance, a writer named Janet Erskine Scott published a piece called "On Top of the World" about a family that had overcome many difficulties following the stock market crash of 1929. Using the words of the family's husband and father, the piece began by explaining that the family had once had a "big house on Upper Peel Street in Montreal, a summer camp in the Laurentians, three cars, a staff of servants and a motor boat which would sleep six" (18). While the man that Scott had interviewed for the piece had believed that Canada's economic growth was sustainable, his wife, Edith, had been much more cautious. When they lost all of their stocks, she remarked to him:

> I have never been as optimistic as you about a great fortune, nor did I ever really want such wealth as you did. The responsibilities are too great and I do not think it has been good for the children to have so much. Gerry, at sixteen, is too much the little man of the world and Elsie is getting to be such a little snob, estimating her friends by their clothes and social position instead of by their character. Try to think, as I do, that this is a great blessing, for it will enable us to get back to the simple life which you and I had in our childhood and which I truly think is the best for us all. (31)

It turns out that Edith had quietly purchased a farm without her husband knowing (he acknowledges that she would have considered such a purchase foolish), and now they have somewhere to live and a way of providing for themselves. Under her leadership, the family adopts the "simple life" of running a family farm, and they begin to prosper in a different way than they had in Montreal. As the piece concludes:

> Edith says she is far happier than she ever was in our old world. We have kept a few good friends from our Montreal days. While we are by no means rich, we have enough to live on, and we are content. (31)

This piece exemplified the *Journal*'s attitude towards the Depression in two ways. First, it offered an optimistic image of Canadians successfully coping with economic loss; second, it upheld women as the source strength and sense in the midst of disaster.

"On Top of the World" portrayed one family's successful recovery from financial devastation. In doing so, the piece concentrated on the importance of character and family as a balm for the ill effects of the Depression, with the conclusion suggesting that character and family were the source of true contentment. Material prosperity, in contrast, was not only fleeting, but also potentially damaging. As it is, ostensibly, possible to cultivate a sound character and devote oneself to one's family regardless of one's finances, the lesson of this particular story was one that would could apply to all readers. That said, the piece portrayed a pastoral country life as the salvation from the economic uncertainties of industry, investing, and urban life and upheld the countryside as the source of wholesome values and economic self-sustainability. In doing so, the *Journal* presented a stark contrast to the poverty of provinces like Saskatchewan, suggesting that the *Journal* was, in fact, willing to deny the realities of agricultural life in favour of proffering an intensely optimistic view of how Canadians ought to cope with the Depression. Indeed, the piece was billed as "a true Canadian story" (18), yet it has the quality of a morality tale through which readers were encouraged to avoid giving in to despair and to treat financial disaster as an opportunity for self-improvement.

In conjunction with this, "On Top of the World" treats women as Canada's unsung heroes, as Edith is undoubtedly the heroine of this tale. She not only rescues her family from misfortune through her foresight and planning, but also ensures that her children will grow up to be better citizens than they might have been if their life in Montreal had continued. Her characterization, then, portrays a set of standards for Canadian women: she is not materialistic, she is adaptable, and she is conscious of what is best for her and her family and how to secure it for them. Through her person and through her actions, Edith turns the Depression to her advantage. By presenting her as a "true" Canadian woman, the *Journal* suggested that the Depression was a moral test—and a hidden blessing—through which Canadians could find strength and decency.

Importantly, depictions of Canadian families remained central to the contents of both magazines. Whether the few acknowledgements of the Depression focused on one family's response to the stock market crash, or the letter of a working mother who was angered by a *Chatelaine* piece that criticized her and women like her, family and home life were presumed to be the greatest source of meaning in the lives of readers. While it could be argued that there is nothing unique to the Depression-era issues of the magazines in this regard, the fact that the magazines did not change their focus is precisely the point. Home and family were treated as universal and eternal aspects of Canadian life. In this way, the fiction, features, and advertisements, which were largely dedicated to portraying family life as the foundation of Canadian life, remained the foundation of the magazines themselves. There were, however, cracks in this foundation. The contents of the June 1934 issue of *Chatelaine*, the context in which Clara G. Turner's short story "Family Style" appeared, suggest a conflicted terrain of desires, interests, and needs for women readers in the mid-1930s. Alongside advice columns and fiction devoted to traditional weddings, *Chatelaine* also ran articles on child welfare and the exotic careers achieved by unmarried women, with these pieces appearing alongside advertisements that ranged from expensive Canadian Pacific cruises to Europe to the inexpensive, yet classy, Canada Dry ginger ale.

While the magazines had good reason to avoid discussing the Depression because of its potential to repel readers, the advertising content served as another rationale for such avoidance. That is, dwelling on poverty and economic strain fell outside of the interests of both magazines because doing so clashed with the consumer ethos generated by the large, colourful advertisements that took up a portion of their pages each month. Advertisers, as discussed in Chapter Two, sought readers who had the means to purchase products, and they wished to encourage spending in that group. The advertising content therefore upheld comfortable middle-class families as the Canadian norm and positioned their products as a central facet of life within the family. In this way, the advertising content ignored the presence of disenfranchised readers within the magazines' readership, thus privileging the well-to-do class as representative of all Canadians; it also promoted a desire to be a part of that class and positioned consumption as a marker of having achieved such class status. Luxury vacations were one such marker. Canadian Pacific, for instance, advertised travel to Europe on the "Empress of Britain." As the advertising copy stated:

> Two days down the river, three days at sea. You will carry away with you the memory of ultra-spacious apartments, perfectly appointed salons, unobtrusive service anticipating your wants, and the companionship of distinguished fellow-travellers on this super-ship. Space to live and space to play. The perfect holiday at sea. (51)

Few Canadians could have afforded such a trip, yet Canadian Pacific set it out on the pages of *Chatelaine* as an ideal holiday, with "unobtrusive service" and "distinguished fellow-travellers" contributing to the sense of privilege and elevated status that such a trip could offer.

Picking up on the theme of vacations, an advertisement for Canada Dry ginger ale presented soda as a form of luxury that could be had either while travelling or at home. Beneath an image of a family of four dining out at a posh restaurant, the text remarked:

> there scarcely is a place you'll go where you won't find Canada Dry waiting to cheer and refresh you. It's an honored guest at all the better hotels, clubs, and restaurants. On dining cars. On ocean liners. And you can enjoy it in virtually every port and city of the world. (33)

The text went on to list ginger ale's flavourful qualities, then suggested that "for the home" readers should "buy The Champagne of Ginger Ales by the case because it's so handy and convenient" (33). In this way, the advertisement suggested that the international appeal of Canada Dry was transferable to the private home, thus adding a quality of glamour and prestige to ordinary life. Importantly, ginger ale was a far more affordable luxury item than an ocean cruise or a trip to a hotel, club, or restaurant. Readers could therefore, through this purchase of this particular commodity, include an element of an otherwise unaffordable experience to their lives. In this way, Canada Dry played up the class politics of consumption while simultaneously situating their product as a "handy and convenient" item that was within the reach of many household budgets.

Such happy images of families, not to mention commodity consumption, strained against many of the other contents in the magazine. The actual experiences of readers, as described in the letters from both women who signed their letters "A Canadian Mother," were certainly at odds with the consumer ethos that the advertisements generated. In turn, the advertisements contrasted with the articles that *Chatelaine* published alongside of them. Economic deprivation and the lack of a secure family home, for instance, entered the pages of the June 1934 issue of *Chatelaine* in an article by L.E. Lowman. The article began by asking "Must the Children Suffer?" and reviewed a series of newspaper reports on the "shocking treatment of a number of unfortunate children" who were in the care of social services in Windsor and York, Ontario. The piece went on to detail the inadequate food and shelter that were given to children who had no families to care for them, and to consider the risks of other types of abuse (such as labour exploitation and physical abuse) for which the children were at risk. The article concluded by urging women to fight for change. According to Lowman:

> This story has been written in the sincere hope that it will interest our Canadian women enough to create the desire to join in this splendid work in goodly

> numbers. If it does that, it has served a double purpose, because if the women will become sufficiently interested then these scandals and stories of maladministration will soon become a thing of the past. […] I have used one infallible rule in dealing with these matters. I have simply asked myself: "Would I be satisfied if my own children were being brought up in circumstances like this?" You cannot go wrong with a rule like that. (56)

By asking readers to treat one of Canada's poorest and most disenfranchised groups as if they were their own children, Lowman effectively asked women to put themselves in a motherly role that extended across the nation. To put it another way, Lowman's request treated the Canadian nation as a family and, as such, women were given the responsibility of caring for homeless children. While the piece did not directly take up the effects of the Depression, it was one instance in which the issue of poverty entered the pages of *Chatelaine*. Interestingly, *Chatelaine* selected a type of poverty that would likely elicit a sense of pathos, and went on to insist that action could be taken to alter the social circumstances of impoverished children. In this way, Lowman treated poverty as a problem that could be mitigated through political agitation, and suggested that women had power to influence circumstances within the nation in a meaningful way. The result was an implied resistance to giving in to economic vagaries in a way that paralleled Janet Erskine Scott's treatment of one family's response to the Depression in her article "On Top of the World."

In contrast to the motherly role that Lowman assigned to women, Madge Huston's article "Queer Jobs" suggested an alternative set of choices for the women of Canada that involved, interestingly, departing from Canada. The article took readers around the world as Huston interviewed women who had left Canada and founded successful businesses for themselves in unlikely locations. One reader, at least, approved of this challenge to the traditional expectations for women that *Chatelaine* tended to champion. As Mrs. R. MacDuff commented to the editors, "girls as well as boys have a decided streak of adventure in their make-up, for which it is not always possible to find an outlet. Will you give us more like it?" (Aug. 1934 68). While *Chatelaine* left Mrs. MacDuff's question unanswered, Huston's article itself explored the ends that a "streak of adventure" could serve. Importantly, such adventure resisted conventional gender expectations, but it did not undercut one's national identity. Indeed, Huston argued that Canadian women who travelled abroad were women of which the nation could be proud. As she explained, her article was:

> a portrait gallery of Canadian girls whom I met in remote corners of the earth. Each one is making a unique mark in life, and inspiring the world's respect for the energy and initiative of young Miss Canada. I have met Canadian girls carving out their careers in Syria, Egypt, India, Assam, Ceylon, Malaya, and, of all places, Tibet! (17)

These women and their careers included, among others, Norma Mayer of Winnipeg, who founded and ran a health spa in Norway; Elsie Naismith of Victoria who worked as a veterinarian for the Bedouin in the Syrian desert; and Mary Brockes of Ottawa who owned her own business giving tours of Cairo to English-speaking tourists. Huston, who was herself pursuing an unusual career by travelling the world and interviewing these women, concluded her article with the observation that

> It is an inspiring and comforting thing for a Canadian traveller to find Canadians bobbing up in such remote and unexpected corners of the world. They do so unfailingly, and even when I had once travelled for two months without grasping a Canadian hand, I remember walking into a bungalow in wildest Sumatra, where I surprised an old Scotsman reading a tattered magazine. The magazine was *Chatelaine*—three months old—and even the Scotsman couldn't give me an idea of how it had got there! (47)

Beyond the promotion of *Chatelaine* as, in and of itself, a representation of Canadian women abroad, Huston's conclusion suggested that the women she had interviewed were by no means rare. These women were, necessarily, independent, self-reliant, and geographically mobile, not to mention good businesswomen. While this treatment of women ran against *Chatelaine*'s more general construction of women as house-bound caregivers, the piece did fit into *Chatelaine*'s overall editorial aims in that it was designed to inspire readers while building a case for the agency and initiative of Canadian women.

In keeping with this, it is worth noting that while "Queer Jobs" avoided an open discussion of the Depression, it implicitly took up the problems of unemployment and hardship by Huston's presentation of the women she interviewed as women who had found ways to earn a living through their own skill and ingenuity. Arguably, the article set an unfair standard of achievement for many women, especially those who were faced with dire economic circumstances. To alleviate the discomfort that this might cause, the article hinged on the idea of escaping from ordinary circumstances and it took readers on a journey to distant places. It thus defused the anxiety that its emphasis on agency and initiative might cause by providing a temporary reprieve from a potentially strained daily life in Canada.

As this brief sampling of *Chatelaine*'s advertisements and articles suggests, the ideas about Canadian womanhood that the magazine circulated were often odds with one another. This complexity left readers to choose among ideas, as the different facets of *Chatelaine*'s contents spoke to various desires and needs. That said, all of the pieces were designed to be motivational, and each piece celebrated the lives of Canadian women, whether they were wives and mother or entrepreneurial globe-trotters. The desire to inspire readers, and possibly distract them from the demands of their own lives, can therefore be understood as one way in which *Chatelaine* dealt with the national crisis of the Depression. As noted earlier, the periodical avoided open discussions of mass unemployment, drought, labour riots, or even the immediate problem of lack of food that marked the 1930s. This combination of a desire to inspire readers and a drive to avoid a painful topic resulted in an essentially utopian vision of Canada that ultimately evaded the economic and social disparities of the Depression. The fiction, as I discuss in relation to "Family Style," made a similar manoeuvre, and many readers, as it turns out, lauded such fiction.

The Reception of "Family Style"

Clara G. Turner's short work of fiction, "Family Style," was declared to be "the type of story that every editor welcomes" (18) upon its publication in the June 1934 issue of *Chatelaine*. Readers concurred with this declaration. While *Chatelaine* typically published one or two letters each month that commented on the various works of fiction, "Family Style" garnered a total of seven letters over three months. Five of these letters were positive; two were negative. Taken together, these letters discuss why and how the letter-writers read the story, thus helping us to understand the ways in which *Chatelaine* readers interpreted fiction and situated it within the context of their own lives. At the same time, the letters speak to the place of *Chatelaine*'s fiction within Canada's literary hierarchy, as well as some of the negative perceptions of slick magazine fiction—and its readers—that were prevalent during the 1930s. For these reasons, "Family Style" is a particularly intriguing story, as it offers a unique set of insights into the reception of a popular work of romance fiction as it took shape during the Depression.

"Family Style" was a short story that followed the wedding preparations undertaken by the five women who made up the Cochran household. Barely three thousand words in length, and simple in terms of plot and characterization, the story might be easy to overlook as an innocuous example of the many short stories that *Chatelaine* circulated, yet its reception suggests that it resonated with readers from across Canada. Some of these readers presented their reaction to the story as a straightforward expression of enjoyment. Mrs. M.B. of British Columbia, for example, wrote "just a line to comment on the goodness of articles in *Chatelaine*, and also to tell you how much I enjoyed "Family Style," by C.G. Turner. I do not know when I got such a kick out of a story" (July 1934 76). Similarly, C.P.K. of California wrote to request "twelve copies of the June *Chatelaine*. We are especially interested in the story by Clara Turner, "Family Style." It is almost as comical as an actual wedding!" (Oct. 1934 76). This relationship between fiction and actual life is key. As Mrs. A.K.M. of Montreal wrote:

> I don't wonder you say that "Family Style" is the story every editor welcomes. It is one of the most human and delightful stories I've ever read. I enjoyed it so much—and it brought back so many memories of my own wedding—that I had to read it aloud to my husband so that he could share it with me. Thank you for it—and I hope you get more like it. (July 1934 76)

While the first two letters simply praise the fiction, the third letter expressed the readers' awareness of the editor's role in publishing fiction, and the publication of the letter itself serves as a reader-defined editorial explanation for *Chatelaine*'s fiction choices. These choices were grounded in selecting stories that were "human" and "delightful." Further to this, the letter from Mrs. A.K.M. of Montreal also gives us some insight into how and why she read the story. By reading the story out loud to her husband, she illustrates one way in which reading was a social practice. More importantly, the letter explains that Mrs. A.K.M. wanted to share "Family Style" with her husband because she saw their experiences reflected in it. Magazine fiction, then, gained some of its meaning to readers as it prompted them to recall and reflect on their own experiences. In a sense, the fiction presented a "human" world that could be readily imagined as one with which the reader had much in common, thus drawing readers together by imagining pivotal events, such as a wedding, as a common bond among Canadian readers.

A letter from M.W. of Claresholm further illustrates the way in which "Family Style" was situated with the context of its readers' lives. As M.W. wrote:

> I have to go down on my knees and beg you never to publish another story like "Family Style." You see, I am the mother of five girls aged thirteen to twenty-three, and also the unhappy owner of several pairs of nice, comfy bedroom slippers. Now the girls have informed me, individually and collectively, that if ever the word wedding is mentioned in our home they will immediately burn all my old shoes! My peace of mind is completely ruined. I don't think that's fair—though I'll admit to you that in many respects that household resembles ours! Isn't it excruciatingly funny to see a letter such as E.F.G., of Toronto, writes—the one who complains about this story? It isn't everyone who can turn out such stuff as "Family Style." Take it from one who reads the magazines and knows. (Sept. 1934 78)

Written in a humorous tone that echoes that of "Family Style," the letter suggests three important things about the reception of *Chatelaine* fiction. First, M.W.'s decision to imitate the humorous style of "Family Style" suggests her engagement with the story at the level of literary style as well as at the level of personal emotion. Second, her letter indicates the parallels she saw between her family life and the one depicted in fiction, suggesting *Chatelaine*'s success in identifying and catering to its readership. At the same time, the letter illustrates both the social practice of reading and the integration of reading into family life, as all six women in M.W.'s household read the short story and turned it into a shared joke. Last, M.W. defended the story against criticism. She positioned herself as an authority on quality fiction because she was an avid magazine reader and she was therefore able to distinguish between a good story and a weak one. This is important, because her letter not only tells us why the story was important to readers, but how that personal importance translated into a definition of "good" fiction.

This definition surfaced again in the reaction of Mrs. M.M. of British Columbia, who wrote:

> "Family Style"—now there was a story! I chuckled all the way through and the last sentence made me shake until the tears came. I didn't dare laugh aloud for fear of waking the baby. This story deserves a place in a collection of "Best Stories." It even, to my way of thinking, may become a classic. (July 1934 76)

The letter suggests yet another way in which the story was read—as a private activity during a spare moment of free time—while also indicating the reader's assessment of the place of "Family Style" in literary culture. In her opinion, it deserved to be considered a classic, yet its publication as a romance in a middlebrow, mass-market magazine divorced it from the possibility of becoming one. As noted in Chapter Three, such fiction fell outside of contemporary definitions of "classics" as Canadian critics such E.K. Brown made it clear that "slicks are not literature" (11), while Samuel Morgan-Powell worried that such slick-magazine fiction could "provide only transitory enjoyment" (9) that was detrimental to the intellectual lives of the Canadian populace. The engagement of *Chatelaine*'s readers with the story, however, indicates an alternate definition of good slick-magazine fiction and how readers arrived at that definition—the story was comical and human, and it related to the emotional lives of readers. This gives us an understanding of an alternate literature, and its reception, as it circulated alongside the canonical works of the inter-war period, thus filling in our understanding of Canada's literary history and the reading lives of Canadians. This understanding, in turn, offers insight into *Chatelaine*'s editorial rationale for publishing stories such as "Family Style." Not only were these works popular and well-received, thus helping magazine sales, they were also considered valuable by readers who were willing to express their opinions. In this way, the fiction fit into *Chatelaine*'s editorial goal of uplifting readers and creating a community through print culture.

That said, some readers were far from delighted with "Family Style." While M.W. of Claresholm dismissed the criticism of E.F.G. of Toronto as "excruciatingly funny," E.F.G.'s letter tells us much about the guidelines that *Chatelaine* set in selecting fiction. As E.F.G. wrote:

> What did you think so wonderful about "Family Style"? You say it's the kind of story that all editors are looking for. Yet all the stories I send you come back with such criticism as "Not enough action," "Not enough motive power," or "Not enough suspense." Yet you go and publish a story that is just an account of an ordinary wedding, where nothing dramatic happens except the mother turns up at the wedding in her lace dress and fur-topped bedroom slippers. Do you call that suspense, or action, or plot? What is a struggling writer to do? They tell you to read the stories a magazine publishes—and in the majority of cases they don't follow at all the editor's reasons for rejecting your manuscripts! (July 1934 76)

While E.F.G. was clearly angry at being rejected by *Chatelaine*, the criticism he or she levels at the story are, ironically, the very qualities that readers liked. Indeed, *Chatelaine*'s decision to publish this letter actually highlights the guidelines for successful publication in the magazine. The rejection notes, which list "action," "motive power," and "suspense," define these qualities as the necessary traits for a slick-magazine story. In turn, the praise that "Family Style" had earned from readers caused it to be set out as a model story.

According to J.M. of Kitchener, Ontario, however, "Family Style" was the opposite of a model story, and by publishing such works *Chatelaine*'s editors were shirking their responsibilities as a national purveyor of fiction. As J.M. half-admonished, half-lectured *Chatelaine*'s editors:

> The editor of any popular magazine, I believe, has more than purely business responsibilities. He—or she, in this particular case—decides what the public shall read for a dime. It seems to me a pity that it should not be more worthwhile.

Chatelaine has gradually assumed a position of growing importance and has become the leading Canadian women's magazine. The articles are at least always mildly stimulating, the various household and beauty departments are well handled. But the fiction—well, the fiction is geared to the taste of a modern, wise twelve-year old.

Of course an editor selects what he is fairly certain, after long years of experience and observation, the public wants to read and is willing to pay for. So there are innumerable stories of cute and dashing heroines, of smugly poised and handsome heroes. These squibs are written, for the most part, with slick facility. They lope easily enough through troublesome situations to foregone conclusions. They are incredibly far from real life and infinitely remote from artistry. But they satisfy a feminine audience that is far too slack and undemanding.

This is what I plead—give the audience its soothing syrup of happy endings and too sweet boys and girls, but in every issue have one story that is honestly creative. It seems to me a crime that the established magazines should publish the trivial efforts of smart writers and snub into oblivion those who might really contribute to Canadian literature. It is true there is one Canadian magazine which publishes the literary, and therefore unpopular, type of story; but this magazine does not pay its contributors. And the most ardent fires of imagination need prosaic physical stoking.

The editor of a magazine has the power to change gradually, to debase or raise his readers' standards. I believe he can eventually persuade the woman who adores cheap prettiness to appreciate real beauty. If the editor has the courage to face criticism, denunciation, and even monetary loss by publishing the literary type of story, he will be haloed.

I plead the cause of all those discouraged lads and lasses who have talent and beauty to offer, and who must suffer humiliation, unrecognition, and perhaps defeat, because from Quebec to British Columbia, Mrs. Canada likes marshmellows better than roast beef!—

> Please, editor, be good to the next budding Morley Callghan! –J.M., Kitchener, Ont. (Oct. 1934 76)

In short, J.M. felt that *Chatelaine* had a responsibility to circulate "high literature" and, in so doing, build the careers of a particular type of Canadian author while simultaneously elevating the intellect and taste of Canadian readers; he or she deemed *Chatelaine*'s dedication romance fiction to be a failure of that responsibility. As noted in Chapter Three, the stories in mass-market magazines were markedly different from the "high literature" of the period, whether that high literature was taken to be the experimental, modernist works being created in Europe or the gritty realist novels by Canadian authors like Morley Callaghan. J.M. urged *Chatelaine*'s editors to bring the magazine in line, at least partially, with the tenets of high art, arguing that literary immortality awaited the editors for doing so.

In urging these things, the letter was actually quite insulting not only to *Chatelaine*'s editors, but also to its authors (who penned "squibs" with "slick facility") and its readers (who were "slack and undemanding"). As my discussion of Leslie Gordon Barnard later in this chapter will suggest, mass-market magazine fiction was not necessarily written with "slick facility," while the letters from readers regarding "Family Style" show that they were not slack and undemanding. Rather, they read *Chatelaine*'s fiction with interest, and they exercised their ability to demand more of the style of fiction that they enjoyed. Moreover, these readers enjoyed the fiction because they read it in a manner that intimately connected to their real lives, contradicting J.M.'s assessment that the fiction was "incredibly far from real life." Positioned in the midst of these tensions over the quality of Canadian fiction, and acknowledging their position through editorials and the publication of readers' letters, *Chatelaine* continued to publish works by Canadian authors that fell into the middlebrow category that J.M. found so distasteful. In doing so, they fostered a body of literature that was not admissible to the literary canon, yet this body of literature is historically important in its ability to communicate the nature of reading practices embraced by thousands of largely female Canadian readers. Situated alongside works of canonical fiction, such as the novels of Morley Callaghan to which J.M. refers, this fiction also maps out an alternate terrain of reading and literature, thus giving us a more complex understanding of Canada's literary heritage and the ways in which national life was imagined through that literature.

Interpreting "Family Style"

Less than three thousand words in length, Clara G. Turner's short story traced the Cochran family's arrangements for the wedding of Patsy Cochran, the second-oldest of four daughters. The story was quite funny, and it relied on Patsy's crumbling ideal of a small family wedding as it collided with her family's rather chaotic home life, for much of its humour. In one sense, "Family Style" can be read as an escapist text designed to provide a momentary and enjoyable distraction from daily life, but a closer reading of the story reveals that its escapist qualities were bound together with the persistent idealization of the middle-class home and the subversion of prescribed gender roles.

This element of subversion is key to understanding the humour in "Family Style." According to John Fiske, "there is always an element of popular culture that lies outside social control, that escapes or opposes hegemonic forces" (*Reading the Popular* 2) and the pleasure of reading popular texts stems from the resistance to the status quo that these texts offer readers. Indeed, as Veronica Strong-Boag puts it in her work on the social and material conditions in which Canadian girls and women worked out their identities in Canada during the inter-war period:

> The poet Adele Wiseman has left an evocative testament to the power of the printed word in inspiring young people to test the boundaries of their society. A voracious appetite for reading helped this Jewish youngster come to terms with her particular situation in North Winnipeg during the 1930s. Her salvation was shared by readers of every sort. As she explained,
>
> > Books were a route into life and reality and simultaneously an escape from life and reality, from the searing quality of every moment of the raw-nerved child's immediate encounters with existence. Books carved a path through the life into which I was locked, showed possible ways through the jungle of experience to the yearned-for civilization of the happy endings…I belonged where I read, if nowhere else…"

> Immersion in everything from comic books to classics occupied endless hours for children who discovered their delights. [...] The burgeoning sales of Chatelaine, with their hefty dose of fiction spoke volumes for the importance of reading as women's chief leisure and distraction." (27-28).

The presence of such fiction as a part of the literary culture of the era (a presence that literary critics wished to banish), and the readers' celebration of the stories as enjoyable, were in and of themselves a resistance to a hierarchical order that devalued women's reading materials. "Family Style" itself, while it dealt with the most traditional of traditional gender expectations for women—weddings and marriages—did so in a way that pulled against the circumscribed social expectations for women. The laughter that this resistance generated was, in turn, one source of the pleasure that readers derived from this portrayal of a wedding that was, after all, "almost as comical as an actual wedding."

"Family Style" begins with Patsy Cochran's announcement to her family that she and her boyfriend Jimmie are engaged to be married. Patsy's family consists of her mother, her older sister Jane, and her two younger sisters, Marty and Ann. Patsy informs them that she wants a quiet family wedding to take place in their home within a month At first, she meets with opposition, as her mother tells her that "with Marty and Ann in school and Jane's course in costume designing unfinished, I just don't see how I can take on a wedding. Not now" (18), while Marty and Ann urge the engaged couple to elope so that they can keep the house free for boys to visit them. Jane, for her part, merely says, "Ho-hum, another spasm of dress-making for this girlie. But from now on there'll be one less Cochran to stick pins into. Thank goodness!" (18). Disappointed in her family's lacklustre attitude, but determined to have her home wedding, Patsy subsequently does and does not get what she wants.

The gap between Patsy's ideal wedding and the wedding as it takes shape under the direction of Mrs. Cochran and her four daughters results from the mild subversion of traditional gender expectations in the Cochran household. Importantly, Mrs. Cochran has no husband, and his absence is never explained. A single mother of four daughters, Mrs. Cochran is independent and self-sufficient. As Turner puts it, "Mrs. Cochran, a determined blue felt holding down her hurried grey hair" starts off each morning driving to "the Cochran Company Real Estate and Insurance" (18). Her skill as a businesswoman is essential to the security of her family, and while Turner never takes us into the nine-to-five business world of which Mrs. Cochran is a part, her talent with money is evident in her decisions about the wedding. As she arranges to have enough ice cream delivered to satisfy one-hundred-and-eleven guests for a total cost of ten dollars ($152 by today's standards), and persuades her next door neighbour to serve coffee for free, "Patsy ha[s] no idea what fine bargain[s] her mother had made. If she [Mrs. Cochran] were a loss as a housekeeper she surely was a good business woman" (19). As it happens, Mrs. Cochran's "loss as a housekeeper" is as central to the action as her ability to support her family and pay for Patsy's wedding.

Given that *Chatelaine*, as well as the *Journal*, devoted much of their contents to encouraging women to become model housekeepers, Mrs. Cochran's failure to be such a figure clashed with the cookery and advice pages. Her four daughters, who are each engrossed in their own contributions to Pasty's wedding, watch her in astonishment as they meet on the stairs

> before and after office hours [...] staggering under armfuls of bedding and pillows. Apparently she was moving all the upstairs downstairs and all the downstairs up. She worried with bags of rags and old clothing that she had been saving for years. She re-hung pictures and cleaned the basement, even whacking up an old nightgown of Patsy's for a curtain to the basement window. She sorted out dresser drawers; put mothballs in the woolens. She had the roof mended and the chimneys swept. She painted the kitchen steps herself and swept the garage. She bought a new garbage pail and sent the living-room rug to be cleaned, not noticing that the date for its return was the day after the wedding. She put all the downstairs curtains to soak in gasoline and straightaway forgot all about them until Patsy just happened to wonder. And there they were, a soggy smelly mess. (19)

While she appears to be a model of efficiency in some ways, her overall effect on her household is chaotic, with either Patsy or Jane stopping to put things right after their mother has tackled them.

As the wedding date draws nearer, Mrs. Cochran's domestic efforts further unravel. She kindly serves Patsy breakfast in bed on her wedding day, yet Patsy cannot help but notice that "the tray bore a cup of coffee without a saucer, an over-toasted roll, and some honey that was for the most part on the handle of the spoon that accompanied it" (19). Later in the day, Mrs. Cochran spontaneously decides to paint the shower, but she fails to mention the wet paint to any of her daughters. Patsy, as a result, leans against the wall while taking her shower and discovers "just how fast paint could stick" (19) and that no amount of solvent and eau de cologne can remove either the paint or its aroma. Finally, Mrs. Cochran mistakes chalk for make-up, and Patsy finds her moments before the wedding

> almost unrecognizable behind a mask of pure white powder. Her eyebrows were overhanging eaves of drifted snow, under which she peered down the stairs as though doom awaited her. There she was starting down to receive the hundred-and-eleven in cream lace and gardenias, with the face of a clown. (28)

Patsy cleans her up and sends her down to the guests, with Mrs. Cochran's chalky face distracting her from Mrs. Cochran's choice in footwear. This, as E.F.G. of Toronto snidely remarks, was the climax of the story, as "Family Style" closes not with Patsy looking at her husband-to-be awaiting her at the end of the aisle, but at her mother in "cream lace and gardenias, and fur-lined bedroom slippers" (28). In outlining such cozy catastrophes, Turner's portrayal of Mrs. Cochran resists upholding the expectation that Canadian women were skilled housekeepers who were devoted to home management. For all that *Chatelaine* printed advice columns and advertisements featuring perfect households and hostesses, this story played with the idea that many women do not meet those standards of perfection. Like Mrs. Cochran, many women took care of their children by becoming the family breadwinner (like "A Canadian Mother, Montreal) and were successful entrepreneurs and business owners (like the women interviewed in "Queer Jobs").

In keeping with Turner's portrayal of Mrs. Cochran, the four younger Cochrans are a wilful and unconventional group in and of themselves. Jane, for instance, is a creative and talented clothing designer who smokes smuggled cigarettes over her sketches and dedicates herself to ensuring that her sister has a proper wedding trousseau. According to Patsy, "A trousseau designed and executed by Jane was something" (18). Working tirelessly, Jane spends most of the story:

> work[ing] all day in rumpled pyjamas. She abandoned any thought of make-up. Her hair strung in wisps behind her ears. Her mouth was always full of pins, half of which she stuck in Patsy's back and then she complained when Patsy jumped. And as the time drew nearer she stuck the pins in deeper. (19)

As with Mrs. Cochran, Jane is not particularly concerned about her appearance. In this way, Jane stands in contradiction to the emphasis on beauty products and maintaining a flawless appearance at all times that the magazines promoted through their advertising contents. It is somewhat ironic, then, that Jane's talents lay in fashion design, and Turner's emphasis on the devotion and energy that Jane pours into Patsy's trousseau suggest that she is a determined young woman capable of pursuing a career in that area. At the same time, there is no evidence that Jane is involved with a man, even though she is older than Patsy, which further suggests that marriage was not Jane's goal in life.

Patsy, as the bride, emerges as the most conventional of the Cochrans. Turner briefly mentions that Patsy works at Bullock's bookshop, hinting at managerial skill and an intellectual life of reading and selling books, but Patsy leaves her job two weeks before her wedding. In this way, she conforms to the traditional expectation that married women did not work outside of the home, making her a foil to both her mother's business acumen and her older sister's talent. That said, Patsy is skilled at managing her relationships with others. As Turner remarks that after the announcement of Patsy's engagement:

> on the whole Patsy was discouraged by the co-operation she received. But she did not weaken. One hour with Jimmie on the porch under a climbing moon put him where she wanted him. And from experience she knew that her mother "could be had." Jane's remark had clinched the trousseau problem. So Patsy proceeded to make her plans. (18)

Patsy's plans, as we know, do not readily fall into place, and she finds herself constantly over-ruled by her mother and Jane as she gives in to her mother's guest list, Jane's commandeering of her bedroom as a sewing space, and even her younger sisters' selection of a wedding decorator. In effect, Turner pokes fun at Patsy's desire to be a conventional bride with a perfect wedding as Patsy's plans are perpetually undermined by the determination of her mother and sisters to do things in their own way.

Patsy's youngest sisters, Marty and Ann, for their part, try to bribe Patsy and Jimmie into eloping, as they "figured that it was worth a chunk of their combined allowances to "keep their home safe for struggling co-eds"" (18). When this plan fails, they publish an announcement in the local paper in which they state that "the two attractive sisters of the bride will act as bridesmaids" (18). While Patsy dismisses the announcement and asks Jane to be her bridesmaid, Marty and Ann nonetheless manage to make their way into the wedding party and "stand like two kittens who have licked the cream" (28) on either side of Jimmie as Patsy walks down the aisle. Finally, Marty and Ann arrange for a "Greek boy" from Marty's English class to bring the flowers for Patsy's wedding. The two sisters do not consult Patsy; instead, Marty tells her older sister "we sure picked up a swell bargain for you today, Pat." She goes on to explain that she arranged for flowers "for practically nothing," suggesting that Marty has inherited her mother's business skills and bargaining tactics. Indeed, Turner remarks that "before Patsy could think of words expressive enough to convey her feelings, her mother spoke up commending Marty's cleverness" (19).

Taken together, Turner's light-hearted treatment of the Cochran women conveys an undercurrent of mockery directed at prescribed gender roles. While the story revolves around a traditional white wedding in a way that does not openly challenge traditional expectations for women, the absence of Mrs. Cochran's husband and Mrs. Cochran's absence from the home, along with her position as the skilled owner of her own business, suggest an alternative to these traditional expectations. Indeed, Patsy's relative weakness in relation to her mother and three sisters suggests that there is more enjoyment, and more social power, to be had in being independent and unconventional.

As might be expected, Turner's representation of family life was enmeshed with the accoutrements of a comfortable, middle-class existence. While Mrs. Cochran broke with tradition by being the family breadwinner, her position as the owner and manager of a small business gave her the social status of a middle-class professional. She was clearly successful at earning money, as all of her daughters had access to education (if they chose to pursue it), and while she and her daughters are conscious of the costs of paying for wedding decorations and food, they ultimately have no trouble paying for the costs that they do incur. At the same time, their house itself is comfortable and large enough to accommodate (perhaps less than comfortably) one-hundred-and-eleven wedding guests. While Jane's execution of the trousseau also means that there are no labour costs associated with either it or the wedding dresses, the abundance of fabrics that Jane carries around, not to mention the wedding gifts that arrive, also speak to a life of material abundance.

The images of such abundance constitute a fictional resistance to the anxieties and possible deprivations of the Depression. At one point, Turner lists the wedding gifts that have arrived, noting that they have become:

> A matter of heated betting among Marty and Ann and their friends who stopped in each day after school. Some days electric equipment took the lead. Other days colored pottery went to the top. And again glassware won the most. One day silver pitchers were specialized. (19)

At the same time, "the main arteries of the Cochran house became choked with shredded paper, tissue, and boxes. Sometimes someone would heave a load of them into the hall closet and clear the way for a fresh supply" (19). These descriptions bring an element of consumption into the story that correlated neatly with the consumer advertising in *Chatelaine*, causing the story to uphold the middle-class household and the image of women as consumers as the norm in Canada. Indeed, every aspect of the wedding requires that things be bought and paid for, tying together the celebratory, cultural elements of Patsy's "quiet home wedding" (18) with commerce. Although the Cochrans are not wealthy—they are presented as an ordinary middle-class family who are economical in their purchases—they nonetheless have the things that they need and enjoy participating in the consumer elements of the wedding preparations. Overall, Turner strikes a balance between a sense of abundance in the household and an attention to financial management; the result is a refusal to consider the more dire effects of the

Depression—or even to acknowledge the Depression at all—by presenting a comfortable home life that all readers were meant to recognize as desirable.

It is worth remembering at this point that the worst years of the Depression unfolded in the early 1930s. Published in June 1934, "Family Style" denied the effects of the Depression and, in contrast, prompted readers to remember happy moments from their own weddings. Moreover, the comfortable household that the Cochran's occupy is a familiar world in which the material and emotional needs of the characters are met. Within this structure, Turner resists presenting the Cochran women as figures who conform to conventional gender expectations. Mrs. Cochran, for instance, owns and runs her own business but struggles to be a good housekeeper. Its focus on the home and a wedding, however, keep the substance of the story on fairly conventional terrain; "Family Style" does not deal with "modern life" or complex social issues that were relevant during the 1930s. In this way, it represents an escapist style of fiction that was widely published by *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* during the Depression. These stories were designed to encourage and cheer readers, and "Family Style" proved itself to be a source of reader identification even as it was a fictitious escape to an imperfect yet more utopian world.

Dealing with Modern Life: "The Winter Road"

"The Winter Road," by Leslie Gordon Barnard, ran as a serialized novel that appeared in monthly instalments between November 1938 and June 1939. The publication of the first instalment elicited a discussion of it by Catherine Wilma Tait, the *Journal*'s largely taciturn editor. Tait, as noted in Chapter One, only published one or two editorials each year, but Barnard's story merited commentary from her, as she wrote that the editorial board of the magazine was "frankly crow[ing]" with pride over the new serial. She went on to explain that

> One of our Canadian writers, Leslie Gordon Barnard, has been for two years writing a novel. We had a look at its first chapter two years ago, and ever since we have been sitting on the Barnard doorstep waiting for the delivery. We never in those two years took our editorial eyes off Leslie Gordon Barnard, for we are rather given, as you will have noticed from time to time, to making prophecies.

> The Winter Road we literally tore out of the arms of its creator for our winter serial. It is, we believe, one of the greatest pieces of Canadian writing that has ever come from Canada. It is profoundly sincere and a story of people battered by emotion and pushed around by economic storms, just as you are, and [as] we are. (1)

In this way, the editorial drew together the "battered emotion" and "economic storms" represented in the fiction with the experiences of not only the *Journal*'s readership, but also the *Journal*'s editorial board. Editors and readers, not to mention writers and their characters, were treated as fundamentally the same, and Barnard's story thus became a means of imagining common problems and concerns. At the same time, Tait's description of the two-year wait for the story marks not only the magazine's devotion to supporting and celebrating its Canadian authors, but also the time and effort that authors like Barnard invested in their fiction. Tait's editorial also names sincerity and the ability to accurately represent human experience as the criteria for a "great" work of Canadian literature, In this way, both Tait's editorial and Barnard's lengthy writing process contradict the dismissal of slick mass-magazine fiction as an inferior form of literature. Barnard's story was, by this account, a carefully crafted meditation on contemporary Canadian life and, as such, it deserved to be widely circulated among Canadian readers.

Further championing the story's importance as a work of fiction, Tait once again praised Barnard's story in March 1939, remarking that "The Winter Road" "fills a big place in this issue—and not only because of our good opinion of the story, but because of the whole-hearted reception given to it by our readers. Many, many letters are our evidence of that acceptance" (86). Unfortunately, the *Journal* did not publish these letters, so we do not have the same degree of insight into the reception of "The Winter Road" that is possible with "Family Style." We can, however, surmise that Leslie Gordon Barnard's popularity with readers was long-standing and widespread, as Barnard was on par with Louis Arthur Cunningham in terms of the amount of fiction he published with the *Journal*. Like Cunningham, Barnard typically published one serialized novel, along with a handful short stories, in the *Journal* each year throughout the 1930s. His work also appeared from time to time in *Chatelaine*. Additionally, he published four novels between 1931 and 1945 (*One Generation Away* (1931), *Jancia* (1935), *The Immortal Child* (1941); *So Near is Grandeur* (1945)) and two books about Canada's role in the First World War (*The War Pictorial: the Leading Practical Souvenir of the Great War* and *Depicting Especially the Part Played by Canadians* (1914 to 1915)).

In addition to writing and publishing his own work, Barnard served as the president of the Canadian Author's Association from 1937 to 1938. In 1941, the Montreal Branch of the Association invited him to give a speech on his views of Canadian literature. According to Lyn Harrington's history of the Association, *Syllables of Recorded Time*, Barnard "was always popular as a speaker, whether in serious dissertation on fiction techniques or on more general topics" (81). In giving his speech in Montreal in 1941, Harrington notes that:

> he glanced around the dining hall, and began: "Through the years, we have taken—and survived—much criticism. We have been the butt of many jokes, some good, some unpleasant. We have been accused of many things, for instance of being merely a social group, which is a complete falsity. What is more nearly the truth is that we are reasonably social and gregarious—but no more so than those who gathered at the Mermaid Inn, or in Bloomsbury, or indeed in our Press and Faculty Clubs." (81)

He went on to list the importance of the Association to Canadian writers, noting the encouragement of younger writers by experienced ones and "the linking of mind with mind, province with province, so that the Canadian scene is dotted with friendships" (81) as his reasons for supporting and believing in the organization. In this way, Barnard viewed the significance of Canadian writing as a process of building community from coast to coast in Canada, causing his personal involvement in literary production to mirror the editorial aims of the *Journal* as it sought to build a community of Canadian readers. Despite his prolific writing for the *Journal*, and his dedication to Canadian arts and letters, Barnard has been excluded from the study of Canadian literature, and he and his works, like Cunningham and his works, have drifted into relative obscurity. By including a discussion of "The Winter Road" in this chapter, it is my purpose to recover some of his work and bring it into the study of Canadian literature. At the same time, "The Winter Road" lends itself to an understanding of the ways in which the Depression and its effects were imagined by one Canadian writer, as well as by thousands of *Journal* readers, as the 1930s drew to a close.

"The Winter Road" comes to grips with the effects of urban industrialization and the ideologies of capitalism and socialism that were in competition with one another in the 1930s. In pursuing this end, narrative intertwines the private lives of individuals with broader social problems, considering the relationship between personal actions and broader social conflicts. In this sense, "The Winter Road" is a realist work of fiction, yet it is also a romance story that ends in the union of its protagonist, John Stannard, with the woman he loves, Gilberta Vincent. Their relationship, however, is not fully realized until the various social and economic tensions in the story are resolved in a harmonious fashion that makes their union possible. As an editorial blurb that appeared on the opening page of the third instalment of "The Winter Road" proclaimed, "in this great Canadian story, Leslie Gordon Barnard deals with modern life honestly and fearlessly" (Jan. 1939 12).

Engaged as it was with the pursuit of a multi-faceted rendering of modern Canadian life, the story gave readers a chance to conceptualize both contemporary society and their place within it. In particular, "The Winter Road situated personal desires and experiences in relation to the inter-connections between different economic classes. At the same time, the story suggested that the characters in the story were similar to actual individuals within the nation, all of whom were engaged in what Benedict Anderson describes as "steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity" of modern life that assured readers that their experiences and anxieties were not only represented in print, but also read about by the other citizens who make up the nation (25-26). Further to this, "The Winter Road" intersected with current events and the political atmosphere of Canada during the 1930s, as Barnard's treatment of the tensions between capitalism and socialist revolution was relevant to the growth of socialist parties[18] and protests such as the "On to Ottawa Trek" of the 1930s.[19] Barnard's serial, then, united readers by contradictorily portraying Canada as a nation beset with divisive class conflict; in turn, the serial eventually resolved these conflicts by suggesting a set of ideals and positing that the adoption of these ideals could create a more utopian nation.

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[18] The Depression generated a variety of political reform movements, particularly at the provincial level, which advocated the use of the state to initiate economic recovery. The

"The Winter Road" began by representing Canadian society as an economically stratified society that was, paradoxically, intensely interconnected through individuals who negotiated their relationships with one another both within and against broader social tensions. These individual relationships, in turn, fed into the expression of broader social conflicts. The opening of the story makes it clear that each character in "The Winter Road" is from a different class stratum, and that the class background of each

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reforms included the formation of the Social Credit Party in Alberta (which was based on the theory that money needed to be equitably distributed among classes so that workers who produced goods could also afford to purchase them, thus making capitalism more sustainable) and the democratic socialism of J.S. Woodsworth and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (which advocated the nationalization of key industries and the establishment of a welfare state that provided pensions, health care, unemployment insurance, and family benefits for children.)

[19] On 3 June 1935, over 1000 people gathered in Vancouver. Led by the Worker's Unity League, they held a series of demonstrations for labour reform in Canada and improved living conditions in relief camps. When the protests accomplished little, the protesters took trains through Calgary, Medicine Hat, Swift Current, and Moosejaw, gathering supporters as they went. When the group arrived in Regina, they were refused further access to the trains. Eight individuals were selected to travel to Ottawa to meet with Prime Minister R.B. Bennett; 2000 marchers were left in Regina. When talks in Ottawa failed, the WUL organized a rally on Canada Day. Regina Constables and RCMP officers were sent to break up the rally and arrest its leaders, which provoked what would later be named the "Regina Riot." One city constable was killed, several hundred officers, protestors, and by-standers were injured, and 130 rioters arrested. Four days later, the "trekkers" were sent back to Vancouver by train.

character is the foundation of his or her choices and opportunities. This opening occurs on a Montreal train platform as five of the six central characters cross paths before three of them get on a train travelling to a country inn set in the Laurentian Mountains. The plot is set in motion when John Stannard rescues Gilberta Vincent from the clutches of Tony Haddon as Tony tries to prevent Gilberta from getting on the train. Anna Dyson, Tony's lover, witnesses the scene, as does Hatty Thring, a sixty-year old socialite and friend of John's. As the train departs with John, Gilberta, and Hatty on it, Barnard quickly relates the history and present reflections of each character.

John Stannard, we learn, is a veteran from "The Great War." He signed up at the age of sixteen, suffered a leg injury, and was left with a cynical sense of the futility of life. He lives off of his pension, which he supplements with free-lance journalism. He is travelling to the Laurentians for Christmas because he is essentially alone, and there is no reason for him to stay in Montreal. Gilberta, a young and wealthy socialite, wishes to get away from Tony and her social circle, having just learned that Tony has been cheating on her with Anna Dyson throughout their engagement. She has broken off their engagement, and she wishes to escape the narrow social expectation that her purpose in life is to marry well as much as she wishes to escape the pain that Tony has caused her. Hatty Thring, for her part, is going to visit her niece, who is the owner of the Langham Inn, for the Christmas holidays. Hatty, like Gilberta, is an independently wealthy member of the upper-middle class; she spends her free time engaged in various forms of women's club work and charities.

Anna and Tony are left behind on the train platform, where they quarrel and part ways. Anna is only marginally a member of the middle class, having been left a small inheritance by her mother. Her money, however, is rapidly running out. She realizes that Tony never had any intention of marrying her—as he had promised—and that she is in a financially precarious position because she has few prospects for either work or marriage. She wants, more than anything, to have a home and family of her own, but her involvement with Tony has damaged her reputation. Barnard provides less information on Tony's background, although his treatment of Gilberta and Anna make his lack of ethics self-evident. Leaving the train station, Tony returns to the factory that he owns.

Crossing the factory floor on the way to his office, Tony gets into an altercation with Joe Rosinsky, Sr., the accountant who had worked with the previous owner of the factory, Henry Shroder. Tony calls in the accountant's son, Joe Rosinsky, Jr. Joe is the sixth central character in the story and one of Tony's factory employees. He is outraged at both Tony's scornful treatment of his once well-respected father and the fact that Henry Shroder was pushed out of the factory in a hostile take-over by Tony. Disgusted and angry with Tony Haddon, Joe Rosinsky, Jr. quits his job and swears to exact justice (or revenge) for Henry Shroder and his father.

In setting out these six characters and their relationships with one another, Barnard structures private relationships—failed romances among them—as the part of the structure of Canadian society that eventually becomes a fully-fledged expression of class conflict near the conclusion of the serial. In articulating the problems of class conflict, Barnard begins by making it abundantly clear that Tony, a full proponent of unmitigated capitalism, is the story's villain. Indeed, Barnard's characterization of him borders on the Satanic, with the factory he owns constituting a form of Hell:

> To leave the offices was to enter inferno. Black snakes, ceaselessly revolving, seemed all insecure on their metal pivots. In the wider, cemented alleys, trucks rumbled. At a distance men's figures showed against the lurid leap of furnaces. (Nov. 1938 27)

An opportunist, Tony has amassed a large fortune throughout the 1930s by buying up small, independently-owned business that were struggling to survive the Depression and "revitalizing" them through a mixture of labour exploitation, corporate mergers, and semi-legal accounting practices. According to Tony's own reflections on his history as a businessman:

> An overly playful associate had once exercised crude humor at his expense. "Tony Haddon," he said, "is a specialist in sick businesses. He anaesthetizes them, operates, declares the patients dead, buys up the remains for a song, and resuscitates them at a profit." Tony was not amused. Efficiency, that could, that must be spelt in terms of dollars and cents, of stock and bond issues successfully floated—for how else can anyone estimate success?—this was the object of

> Tony's worship. And to secure efficiency that can be estimated by profits, one must be as ruthless as a dictator in a slipshod world. (Nov. 1938 27)

Tony's personal drive to attain success makes him the beneficiary of an unequal system ("a slipshod world") that he, through his lack of ethics, exploits to his advantage. Inevitably, Tony's advantage proves detrimental not only to those who are less powerful than he is, such as the factory workers he employs, but also to those who are more ethical, such as the factory's previous owner, Henry Shroder.

Shroder's family, friends and former employees all blame Tony for the car accident that took Shroder's life. As his wife puts it, Henry was " "worried about Mr. Rosinsky." [...] That preyed on him as much as anything. He'd been over to see Mr. Rosinsky, and was coming home. He must have stepped out from the curb not looking. Henry had got so he didn't much look where he was going" " (Feb. 1939 78). Hatty Thring, a long-time friend of Henry Shroder and his wife, reflects on the beliefs and actions of Henry Shroder shortly after Shroder's death. As Hatty walks by the factory that Tony now owns, she looks up at the sign above the front door that is about to be replaced and thinks:

> "The Shroder Manufacturing Company." Hatty felt suddenly as if the ghost of Henry Shroder must be hanging about here, as he himself had often had in the flesh, a wandering soul come to look at a place that was his own creation. Henry Shroder was known as a man who kept his word, who dealt justly, who thought generously. She herself had heard him expand on theories he had of gradually putting control into his workpeople's hands. They had sounded Utopian then, though she read enough to know they were successful where tried honestly. But he had trusted others as he had himself could be trusted; and men had laughed up their sleeves at him, and manipulated him, and brought him to lie in a mortuary chapel. Presently his end would be six feet of earth, and the dream he had dreamed would become a nightmare only of whirling machinery and time-clocks, and grinding efficiency, and extra profits. (Mar. 1939 11)

Hatty's thoughts idealize Shroder's business practices and reveal the diabolical essence of Tony's earlier thoughts on the "Haddon Technique."

It is important that Barnard makes a distinction between two types of capitalism, rather than condemning free enterprise in and of itself. By idealizing Shroder's "Utopian" theories, a specific brand of capitalism is lauded, and Henry Shroder's factory is described as a "creation" rather than the Hell implied by Barnard's description of the factory as it is run by Tony. Moreover, Shroder was honest and just; ultimately, he wished to give his "workpeople" a fair share of the company. Shroder's approach to capitalism balances free enterprise with elements of socialism and avoids giving either approach too much power. In 1938 to 1939, this model for business is a prescient one in terms of Canada' economic future, as Canada adopted a Keynesian approach to economics in the post-Second World War era in order to mitigate the effects of the uncontrolled market. Admittedly, it is not quite the approach advocated here in that government, rather than business owners, intervened in the marketplace to protect workers through unemployment insurance, worker's compensation, and attempts to control inflation by managing interest rates through the Bank of Canada. Nonetheless, Barnard's story spoke to the need to mitigate both the unfettered capitalism of Tony and the violence of socialist revolution that, as the story progresses, ensnare Joe and Anna.

Desperate for work, Joe Rosinky is forced to return to his job at Tony's factory. He subsequently meets Anna, who has recently moved to his impoverished neighbourhood, and he helps her get a much-needed job in the factory. Despite their age difference—Anna is several years older than the teenaged Joe—they become friends who quickly realize that they share a set grievances against Tony. The workers at the factory, who are still loyal to Shroder, are frustrated by Tony's relentless demand for efficiency, and they are looking for a way to alter their circumstances and seek revenge for the ill treatment of their former boss. Taking advantage of the workers' mood, Joe and Anna begin instigating dissent. As Anna later acknowledges, "Nobody talked against him [Tony] or worked against him more than I did" (June 1939 40). The dissent culminates in a labour protest that takes place outside of the factory.

Hearing that Tony may be in trouble, Gilberta (who has forgiven Tony for his affair with Anna) and Hatty (who happens to be visiting Gilberta at the time) arrive at the factory in Hatty's car. John is already there with Anna, as the two of them have become friends, and they are in search of Joe, who is lost in the crowd. Anna, however, gets caught up in the mob mentality, and as Tony tells the workers to leave or risk police action, she shouts "Our blood will be up your head!" Her words set a riot in motion, with one of the rioters throwing a brick at Tony. It hits him on the head, and as he falls, the crowd rushes at him, throwing stones and kicking him. Realizing that Tony is going to be killed, Anna is filled with remorse and she fights her way through the mob to him. As a result, the mob turns on her, kicking her, but they draw back when they see that the woman they have followed up to this point is bleeding from a head wound. Joe, having finally found Anna, picks her up and takes her back to her apartment. Believing that she will not survive the night, Anna begs Joe to get John to come and see her. John does so after helping Gilberta and Hatty transport Tony to the hospital, where Tony dies a few hours later.

Notably, the riot that Anna and Joe instigate indicates the agency of seemingly powerless individuals to orchestrate, if not widespread and immediate social change, then at least potentially volatile attacks on the status quo that might lead to incremental social change. According to John Fiske's analysis of popular texts, Anna and Joe exemplify "guerrilla warfare" against the "power bloc" (*Power Plays* 69) Drawing from Michel de Certeau's distinction between the long-term, systematic "strategies" employed by institutions like corporations and banks to maintain their position of power over the people, and the short-term, opportunistic "tactics" of the people to resist their subjugation (de Certeau 34-38), Fiske argues that "the weak can and do attack the powerful as guerilla bands attack the occupying force. These attacks are fleeting, opportunistic: they are mounted when weaknesses are spotted" (Fiske, *Power Plays* 69). Barnard illustrates the possibilities for such an opportunistic resistance to the structures of capitalism through which the largely peripheral working class figures in "The Winter Road" are exploited, yet he resists presenting such attacks as an ethical and successful means of achieving greater equality. Given that Joe and Anna spark the protest against Tony out of their own personal anger, the motives behind the protest are far from idealistic. At the same time, Tony's death is brutal and cruel, and Anna repents her actions when she realizes that she has indirectly caused her former lover's murder. In the end, "The Winter

Road" suggests that social change in Canada was necessary, but that violence was not the solution. Moreover, the extremes of both capitalism and socialist revolution are equally destructive and demoralizing. The result returns us to the middle ground suggested by the figure of Henry Shroder, with Anna and Tony both serving as cautionary figures against allowing oneself to give in to a single-minded idea and selfish motives.

When John arrives to see Anna after the riot, she admits to him that she and Joe engineered the riot at the factory, and that she feels responsible for Tony's death. She is weak from her injuries and says that she deserves to die, but John tells her to forgive herself and gets a physician for her. She recovers and, repentant, determines to lead a better life. In particular, she decides that she will find a way to ensure that Joe is able to pursue an education for himself and so build a better life than the one he currently has. In this sense, the story resolves with Anna adopting the motherly role that she has wanted for herself throughout the story. Somewhat assured of their well-being, John leaves Joe and Anna to seek out Gilberta, with whom he has secretly been in love since the Christmas they spent together in the Laurentians. He has never pursued his feelings, believing himself to be a poor match for the wealthy and somewhat shallow Gilberta, but after seeing her at the hospital, he believes that things might be different between them now. Gilberta, for her part, has been through a series of personal tragedies that have changed her, and upon seeing John, she finds the courage to tell him that she loves him, and always has, though she has been too blind until now to realize it. The romance plot that has run throughout the social commentary of the story, then, resolves itself happily as a part of the story's broader harmony in a way that links individual happiness to the need for a peaceful and just society.

In addition to exploring social conflict and its influence on the private lives of the characters, Barnard also considers the limitations imposed on women in Canada in the 1930s and the actions that women could take to overcome those limitations. Taken together, Hatty, Gilberta, and Anna represent three kinds of femininity, and their characterization resonates with the construction of femininity as it took place throughout both the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*. Hatty Thring, for instance, is sixty years old and widowed, comfortably well-off and educated. She is essentially a member of the leisured class, yet she devotes much of her time to women's club work and charity work, and she perpetually seeks to better the lives of less fortunate Canadians throughout "The Winter Road." There are two key instances of this, both of which are minor in relation to the plot, yet they contribute to Barnard's overarching idea that equal access to economic opportunity, combined with a sense of human compassion, are the foundation of a more utopian society. The first instance consists of Hatty helping Mrs. Shroder re-establish herself after the death of Henry Shroder. She begins by assisting the Shroder family find a place to live and start a new business:

> The Shroders were housed in better quarters elsewhere—rent paid by Hatty Thring. The Federated Charities had moved swiftly to help through the proper agencies, and Mrs. Shroder was getting almost more business than she could attend to for jams and jellies, cakes and sandwiches and salads. (Mar. 1939 45)

This sub-plot, while seemingly incidental, in fact reinforces the idealization of ethical, small-business practices championed throughout "The Winter Road" as the means of achieving an more utopian nation. (It also echoes the self-sufficiency of the Cochran household, and the entrepreneurial skills of "Young Miss Canada" in the article "Queer Jobs" the June 1934 issue of *Chatelaine*.) In working together to achieve Mrs. Shroder's success, the two women indicate both the possibilities and constraints facing women in Canada during the 1930s. Mrs. Shroder, for her part, illustrates the possibility for women's participation in the free-market economy and the need for women to be able to support themselves, while her relationship with Hatty also suggests the need for women to free themselves from dependency on men. That said, Mrs. Shroder also illustrates the constraints faced by women, as her success is grounded in the traditionally feminine activity of cooking, and her business is literally home-based, showing her lack of mobility in the wider marketplace. She cannot abandon her traditional role as a home-maker to become a business woman; rather, she must find a way to re-define that role as a profitable one that ultimately leaves the gender expectations for women intact.

Hatty's second intervention into the lives of others consists of a confrontation with Tony Haddon. Learning that Haddon has fired three of his factory workers for an act of vandalism that they did not commit, Hatty discovers the real culprits—a group of young boys who threw bricks through the factory windows—and makes the instigator confess to Tony. Tony had fired the three men without proof that they had done anything wrong, and he had done it to keep the workers afraid of arbitrarily losing their jobs. Hatty reverses his decision and, again, generates a small dose of justice in the face of the overarching system of exploitation and uncontrolled free enterprise that Tony represents. As she reflects on these small victories, Hatty articulates the tensions surrounding women's rights and roles in Canada in the late 1930s:

> Her mind ran over her own club activities. She believed, had always believed, in the emancipation of women; long before the suffragist movement gained ground she had spoken her own mind and acted in her own independent way. But now an unsureness swept in upon her. She thought of the clubs she belonged to. Just how far were they getting? Lecturers came to propound theories for world-betterment. She saw them in retrospect, men and women in the public eye or who had verbal offerings to make attractively. The inevitable pitchers and water-glass; the platform with its palms […] Afterwards, women went home to their families. Children demanding food, attention, understanding. Husbands back from offices, for whom one must be bright, wifely, maternal. The day's routine. The weekly engagements. […] Yet she knew these women, knew how—with some futile, smug, silly exceptions—they had greatness dormant in them, were exhibiting some of it every day. They were capable of sacrificing for an ideal. And they had the balance wheel, in the main, of practicality. (Mar. 1939 12)

As with the limitations surrounding Mrs. Shroder's accomplishments, Hatty's thoughts celebrate the "greatness" in women while simultaneously acknowledging the restrictive quality of women's lives as they filled their traditional roles as caregivers. This list of activities, however, make Hatty the fictional embodiment of what many of the magazines' editorials and articles asked of women to be for the sake of Canada. Women were, as noted on Chapters One and Two, asked to work towards preventing a second world war and presented with figures like Jonkvrouwe Cornelia van Asch van Wyck, the world president of the YWCA, as an example of what women could accomplish. At the same time, women were also encouraged to participate in their local Women's Institute, or to found organizations such as the "Women's School for Citizenship." These expectations built a desire for fairness and compassion into the magazines' construction of femininity, and Hatty Thring's characterization was a fictitious embodiment of the self-educated activist that both the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* idealized. Hatty Thring, then, both articulates and illustrates one form of the model behaviour that *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* encouraged in women through both their fiction and non-fiction content. The rationale for adopting such behaviour was clear: through it, women could improve Canadian society one small action at a time.

The effects of the limitations on women are more fully drawn in Gilberta Vincent than they are in Hatty Thring. Unlike Hatty, Gilberta lacks conviction in the possibility of social change and her own power to bring it about:

> She knew terrible need could and did exist, but people got through somehow. Each season the Vincent name appeared on subscription lists to hospitals, the Federated Charities, and the rest, but she had no personal acquaintance with poverty as it starkly invades homes and confronts homemakers with bare shelves, empty stomachs and undernourished children. Now and again authentic voices, in print or pulpit, in lecture-hall or drawing-room, cried out with convincing emphasis, and momentarily Gilberta would be moved to a passion to remould the world rather nearer to the heart's desire. But the ambition would pass, destroyed, not least of all by a sense of personal impotence. (Dec. 1938 58)

In this passage, Barnard ties Gilberta's ambivalence about her own agency to her social status. She has no personal experience with economic difficulties, and the expectation that she work to improve the world is little but an abstract concept to her. Moreover, Gilberta enjoys the privileges of her wealth, which include shopping trips, a well-decorated apartment in Montreal, and the freedom to avoid confronting poverty and exploitation by avoiding Tony's factory or the poor neighbourhoods of Montreal where Joe and Anna live.

That said, Gilberta thinks of her departure from Montreal to the Laurentians at the beginning of the story as an escape from the hollow round of idle parties, social calls and, above all, her fraudulent romance with Tony. From the start, Gilberta wishes to change the quality of her life and the nature of her character. Such change proves difficult, however, and her return to Montreal after the Christmas season marks her initial acceptance of her position as a self-centered socialite. This acceptance is marked by her father's unexpected death and her subsequent agreement to marry Tony. She makes this agreement partly because her father has recently died and she is too numb to care much about the foolishness of her decision, and partly because she has been groomed to be the wife of a wealthy man. Even though she despises Tony, he offers to take care of her and give her a direction in life where she can see no other future for herself. As Hatty Thring tries to dissuade Gilberta from marrying Tony, even she must acknowledge that to Gilberta, "Tony Haddon means security of a kind, material comfort, acceptance of the status quo" (May 1939 12). Indeed, Gilberta's upbringing makes it impossible for her to conceptualize a life for herself that does not entail a secure marriage to someone from her economic class, making her engagement to Tony appear to her to be an almost inevitable acceptance of her fate.

In her choices and character, Gilberta is both a composite of the type of youthful femininity that was promoted in magazine advertisements of the 1930s and a critique of this model of femininity. As a composite, Gilberta is attractive, well-off, white, and dependent on men to take care of her. In particular, beauty and health products idealized young, wealthy women and marketed their products as a means of achieving this ideal. An advertisement for Woodbury Soap that appeared alongside a segment of "The Winter Road," for instance, drew from the idea of the socialite in search of a mate (see Figure 15). The advertisement showed a photograph of a young woman in an elegant silk dress. Above her image, the advertising copy announced that "Bewitching Debs prepare for dates with a Woodbury Facial Cocktail." Underneath the photograph, the model was described as "Miss Gloria Armstrong [a] lovely New York debutante [who] collects precious jade and raises tropical finches. The secret to her fair complexion is constant care with Woodbury. Gown by Zoe de Salle" (June 1939 27). Gilberta Vincent's characterization ran parallel to such commercial constructions of women, as she was a fictional version of the debutante who had the money and leisure to collect jade and raise finches, if she chose, and for whom beauty and social standing was a means of securing her future social position through marriage. Barnard, however, critiqued this particular ideal of womanhood.

The critique plays out through Gilberta's experiences, all of which culminate in her eventual rejection of the life of a socialite. Her experiences are largely unhappy ones, beginning with her father's death, which makes her fully responsible for herself for the first time in her life. While she still has an independent income with which to support herself, the friendships she forms with John and Hatty in the Laurentians carry over into her life in Montreal. Through Hatty, she becomes acquainted with the Shroders, and she begins to understand repercussions of Tony's actions and to appreciate that one individual—in this case, Hatty Thring—can influence the lives of others for the better. Through John, Gilberta eventually meets Anna and Joe. Interestingly, Gilberta initially wishes to meet Anna out of jealousy and hatred. She blames Anna for destroying her initial engagement to Tony, for seemingly making John fall in love with her, and, eventually, causing Tony's death. When Gilberta arrives at Anna's apartment for the first time, however, it is after the riot at Tony's factory, and as she looks around the apartment's squalid interior and meets the gaze of an exhausted Anna, and Gilberta feels pity. As Barnard puts it:

> In the great, awkward, second-hand bed lay Anna, in a room that cried out its cheapness, its lack of taste, a gaudy, sentimental picture framed above the bed. Something in Gilberta clung to these, fiercely demanding of her a superiority, a condescension; then she saw only Anna's face, the dark coils of her hair, the eyes too large and luminous for a pale face. (June 1939 40)

As Anna asks for Gilberta's forgiveness, Gilberta spontaneously grasps her hand and says, "no, Anna, forgive me," (June 1939 40) and weeps. The scene suggests not only Gilberta's new-found ability to feel compassion for others, but also her sudden awareness that she has adopted a self-centered and cynical interpretation of the actions of others, as John and Anna are, after all, only friends. This realization makes the romantic conclusion of the story possible.

In the final scene of "The Winter Road," Gilberta and John are alone together, and she acknowledges that she loves him. She abandons her former self and embraces a new set of values that are grounded in charity and compassion. As their final meeting at the end of the story stresses, her marriage to John will change her for the better:

> She said, quickly, half-jesting, half frightened: "Tell me what you see."
>
> "Just you."
>
> "As I am?"
>
> "As you are—and as you will be."
>
> Their eyes met, their glances locked. She cried, "What are you thinking?"
>
> "That you're making me very happy. That I don't deserve all of this."
>
> She looked at him. She choked.
>
> "You don't deserve? *You?* Oh, my dear, what about me?" (June 1939 64)

Gilberta thus becomes an new kind of idealized figure, as she changes from a shallow and uncertain young woman to a more ethical and conscientious one. Notably, marriage is the reward for her transformation. In this way, Barnard keeps Gilberta firmly entrenched in the societal expectation that marriage was the most acceptable social position for women. Despite all of the changes in Gilberta, her character remains a part of a romance that recuperates her new-found identity back into the prescribed gender role that she had sought to escape in the opening instalment of the story.

Anna Dyson represents a type of femininity that is ostensibly absent yet omnipresent on the pages of the magazines: she is the reversal of the beauty advertisements and of the articles urging women to be politically engaged; she is the type of women that the magazines implicitly suggested women should avoid becoming. Unmarried, Anna's reputation becomes increasingly questionable through her association with Tony, and her desire for a family and the kind of home life promoted in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* becomes an impossible dream. In this way, Anna embodies the fears of romantic rejection—and the economic insecurity that went with being rejected as a marriage partner--on which advertisers preyed. Paradoxically, it is as this embodiment of anxiety that Anna herself becomes a frightening figure and a powerful force in the story.

This transition begins with the self-respect that Anna gains for herself through earning her own living from working at the factory. In this way, her character suggests an alternative to the desire to be married and safely ensconced in a middle-class home.

More importantly, Barnard casts Anna in the role of a failed revolutionary, showing her resistance to her victimization. When he finds her at the riot, John thinks:

> A stone had cut her cheek and the blood was flowing. Her hair was wild, straggling damply, darkly, about her. He had a moment of unreasoning admiration. She was magnificent. He felt that the Anna he knew had become a symbol of all embattled womankind with a tenacity and a fine desperation no man could match. A moment later the futility of violence sickened him with a sense of age-long tragedy. (May 1939 44)

The passage picks up on Hatty Thring's early assessment of the "greatness" and potential of women, but here that potential becomes warped and limited by violence involved in Anna's struggle to achieve a kind of greatness. In the end the violence in which she involves her backlashes. Her subsequent repentance moves her back to a set of ideals that, like Gilberta's, are more charitable and compassionate than her hate for Tony could allow. Moreover, the new role that she casts for herself, as noted earlier, is essentially that of a mother, causing Barnard to recuperate Anna (like Gilberta) back into a conventional expectation for women's role in society.

"The Winter Road," then, explored the problems posed by unmitigated capitalism and the socialist reactions that these problems provoked in Canada in the 1930s. The solution toward which Barnard pointed fell between the extremes of capitalism and socialism, suggesting that small, ethically-run businesses could create a more egalitarian, peaceful, and prosperous nation for all Canadians. In pursuing this resolution to the story's many conflicts, "The Winter Road" encapsulated questions of economic power and explored gender expectations placed on women during the 1930s. Through Hatty, Gilberta, and Anna, Barnard explored the various contributions of women to the nation without ever challenging traditional gender norms. Throughout his rendering of both Canada's social structure and the characters of three fictitious women, Barnard articulated some of the problems of the Depression and formulated a set of principles that could help re-invent Canada as a model nation.

The fiction published in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* during the 1930s provide insight into the reading practices and desires of Canadian women during an era of widespread economic and social tensions. The context in which this fiction appeared, which included articles as various as "On Top of the World" (a direct yet idealistic look at the problems of the Depression) and "Queer Jobs" (a vicarious escape from Canada that celebrated the initiative and talent of Canadian women), conveys a series of contradictions over gender expectations. These contradictions surface in "Family Style," yet the story as a whole idealized the stability and harmony of an imperfect but largely idyllic home. In contrast, Leslie Gordon Barnard's serial "The Winter Road" was in dialogue with the effects of the Depression. It took up social and economic disparities, and their influence on individual characters, as means of articulating the tensions that underwrote daily life in Canada. The story conceptualized modern Canadian society and imaginatively situated personal, private relationships within a broader social context in a way that was intended to help readers understand their own lived experiences. "Family Style" and "The Winter Road," then, represent two poles in Canadian mass-market magazine fiction during the 1930s. Turner's story speaks to a style of fiction that appealed to readers through its cheerful, familiar, and uplifting consideration of the inward life of the home; Barnard's story explored the strain of the Depression by looking outward in a manner that encompasses the social structure in which individual lives are enmeshed. The eventual resolution of "The Winter Road" presented a vision of a more peaceful and egalitarian society alongside a set of principles that could lead to the realization of that society. Despite their differences, both "Family Style" and "The Winter Road" were romances that imagined Canadian society—at either the microcosmic level of the private home or the macrocosmic level of Montreal society—as a potential utopia. The start of the Second World War, as I explore in the following chapter, continued to explore such utopian longings in ways that help us understand the relationship between nationalism and literature, and the place of women within the Canadian nation, as these things were conceptualized in and through *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* during the war years.

Chapter Five

Soldiers and Madonnas: Stories of the Second World War

"Soldier," in fact, [is] a story which would be found, could we open the soul of any member of our Canadian troops and read. And judging from the response of the great audience of the Toronto Women's Canadian Club when it was read, it is a story which echoes in the women standing faithfully behind our men, from all parts of our Dominion.

--Editorial, *Canadian Home Journal* Aug. 1940

"You know a woman doesn't stand in a doorway for four years, holding a baby like the Madonna in a stained glass window."

--"Going Home," *Chatelaine* Dec. 1945

During the Second World War, *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal* threw themselves into the combined role of patriotic morale-booster and national communication medium on war-related issues. All of the content in both magazines, including the articles, illustrations, advertising, and, of course, the fiction, was re-tooled to focus almost entirely on the War and its influence on the lives of Canadian women. In this way, the magazines became printed embodiments of the "total war" to which the Canadian nation committed itself in September 1939.

To give just one example of the magazines' engagement with the war effort, the November 1944 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal* contained feature articles that included "Ours to Fan the Flame," an opinion piece by E. Gordon Waugh on how Canada's school curriculum needed to be re-designed to encourage and educate children and young adults into maintaining a lasting world peace once the War was over; "Thank-you Canada!" a one-page letter from a British woman named Virginia Hutchison who had sent her four children to Canada for their own safety during the War; "Three Girls Make History," by Monica Powell, an interview with three nurses who worked in a specialized branch of the Royal Air Force that flew to France to pick up wounded soldiers from battlefronts and bring them to British hospitals (Powell concluded the article by observing that all three women were "happy in the knowledge that they were pioneers in a new side of women's work" (74); and "Welcome to Canada's Brides" by Rica McLean Farquharson, who extended a warm welcome to "this newest group of Canadians" and suggested that these newcomers write to the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire for their booklet "From Kith to Kin," which provided a short history of Canada along with an overview of Canada's "population, manner of home-life, clubs, shopping, system of government, racial strains, courts and legislation, health and welfare, climate, [and] churches" (47). The illustrations that accompanied the fiction featured men and women in uniform (see Figure 16), and the advertising marketed consumer goods by showing how such goods supposedly contributed to the war effort. For example, an advertisement for Parker Vacuumatic Pens and Pencils suggested that servicemen overseas would love to receive a "Parker Active Service Set" of pens (inside front cover), while Fleischman's yeast pointed out that "bread gives you plenty of extra energy to help you meet the strain of wartime living" (1), and Community Silverplate paired the slogan "Back Home for Keeps" with images of brides embracing their new husbands (still in uniform) that were framed by images of china and silverware (back cover).

In addition to non-fiction content, illustrations, and commercial advertisements, the magazines also served as intermediaries between the state and women. Pages 24-25 of the November 1944 issue, for instance, featured a promotion from the National War Finance Committee encouraging Canadians to "Invest in Victory: Buy More Victory Bonds." Readers turning the page over were faced with a full-page public service announcement from the Department of Pensions and National Health telling readers to "Learn the Facts! Fight VD on the 4 Sector Front: Health, Welfare, Legal, Moral" (27), which was followed later in the magazine by a full-page announcement "The Future After Discharge—a Message to Relatives of Those in the Armed Forces," run by the Minister of Veterans' Affairs (65). The issue ended with the words "Match the Courage of your Fighting Men!" arcing across the image of a female officer in a full-page recruitment poster for the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) (inside back cover).

From 1939-45, *Chatelaine* ran these same governmental and commercial ads, along with similar illustrations and articles; further to this, *Chatelaine* adopted a monthly special feature called "Your War Work," which began in July 1940 and ran until the official end of the War in September 1945. "Your War Work" was a two-page feature that combined interviews with, and photographs of, women engaged in various forms of war-related activities. These activities could be either paid or voluntary, and included tasks as various as knitting, building engines, and organizing fund-raising campaigns. As Byrne Hope Sanders editorialized on these efforts:

> Tens of thousands of girls and women throughout Canada are doing their bit of war work, with no fanfare; no excitement. You'll find them crowding to V.A.D. lectures, to Nursing classes, to Red Cross activities. As I travel around I see them holding classes in dietetics; demonstrating baby care to mothers; taking part in soldier's welfare work.

> Wherever possible, they are enrolling in motor mechanics courses—learning to "break down" a car's engine and handle it as expertly as a good garage mechanic in the evenings. It means dirt and grease and oil, and back to an office job in the morning. (Mar. 1940 84)

Sanders' comments, along with the articles on women's work, highlight the tensions surrounding women's greater freedom and access to new forms of paid labour and education during the War. While these pieces sought to celebrate the contributions of women, these contributions were often construed as traditionally feminine tasks that had suddenly achieved a new-found importance because they were a part of national defence. For example, the nursing classes, child-care demonstrations, and participation in soldier's welfare to which Sanders referred may well have moved such work out of the domestic realm of the home and into the public context of the War, the nature of the labour itself "encouraged women to see their war work in terms of an extension of their domestic skills" (Jolly 184). This assessment holds true for much of the work that women were asked to do; in fact, an illustration for a piece in the *Journal* on the ways in which young women were proving themselves to be "an inestimable asset in time of national need" (Adams 16) offers a succinct visual summary of this assessment, as the illustration showed women at engaged with the care of others (nursing, Red Cross administration, ambulance driving), food preparation (cooking and farming), and entertaining (playing music in the C.W.A.C band).

Whenever work fell outside of these domestic skills, anxieties over the masculinization of women emerged. Most notably, advertisements for beauty products geared themselves towards erasing any traces of masculinity that war work might leave on women. Nail polish and hand lotion advertisements, for instance, obsessed over broken, dirty fingernails and dry skin resulting from work in automotive plants or munitions factories and went on to proffer means of repairing such damage. Similarly, the fashion spreads and sewing patterns featured in both magazines focused on pretty, ultra-feminine shirtwaist dresses and high heels that women could choose to wear outside of work. These colourful outfits stood out in stark contrast to the overalls and trousers that women wore in the black-and-white photographs of women at work that both magazines routinely featured. As advertisements published by C.W.A.C throughout the war years suggests, women were aware of the ways in which their clothing transgressed gender boundaries. One such advertisement featured a young woman in trousers walking past a lecherous-looking young man (whose lack of a military uniform suggests that he is not a good citizen) and a scandalized middle-aged woman (whose age suggests a moral stance out of step with the times) (see Figure 17). The banner read "Please Don't Stare At My Pants…" The fine print beneath the banner adopted the voice of a female officer:

> Would you like to know why I wear trousers like the men when I go about the streets? Because I'm doing a man's job for my country's sake. My coveralls are my working clothes. I wear them for safety's sake. They are less likely to become entangled in the factory machinery. (Mar. 1942 3)

Beneath this defence, three photographs showed women at work in industrial factories. The words "Brave Men Shall Not Die Because I Faltered!" ran beneath the photographs.

There are three key implications to the advertisement. First, during the War, women wore masculine clothing not from choice, but from necessity. The masculinity of such clothing was therefore not a wilful transgression of gender expectations, but a way of protecting women from the dangers of a setting from which they had previously been excluded. This had the effect of maintaining women's status as vulnerable and in need of protection. At the same time, the leering man caused women's wartime attire to become sexualized in a way that re-enforced the sexual objectification of women even as their war work offered them new ways to imagine their social and economic position in Canada.

The second implication of the advertisement was that the entrance of women into traditional masculine domains was grounded in a combination of courage and service to both the nation and the nation's soldiers. In effect, the national duty of women was to assist men. This duty, rather than altering the pre-war status of women, maintained it. At the same time, the text "Brave Men Shall Not Die Because I Faltered!" emphasizes the primacy of men, with women serving in a capacity that is fundamentally secondary to their heroic self-sacrifice. According to M.R. Higonnet, these relative valuations of dedication to, and sacrifice for, the nation serve to uphold gender inequalities despite the apparent advancement of women's freedoms and choices. In her words, "war alters the vocabulary of feminine dependence (as it moves women from the "home" to the "home front"), and it may even improve the lives of some working women. In the long run, however, the dynamic of gender subordination remains as it was" (35). As the C.W.A.C advertisement itself went on to note, "the young ladies wearing blue trousers [...] are again standing behind their men in the hour of their country's peril" (3). Women were, notably, not on the front lines; rather, they were a part of the protected home front, and as much as their work contributed to the front lines, it was forever secondary to the efforts of men.

The temporary nature of women's war work was the third implication of the CWAC advertisement. Women were, indeed, heavily invested in wartime industries, but the purpose of these industries was to win, and therefore end, the War. With the War over, these industries could shut down, or re-define themselves to suit peacetime needs, and women's training would become obsolete. As Penny Summerfield argues:

> popular representations constructed women's participation in war work as heroic, but contingent and temporary. Special courage, effort and self-sacrifice were expected of the woman who stepped across the gender boundary into war work. However, she would not be in direct contact with military action, and she would remain for just as long as that action lasted. Afterwards she would relinquish the job to a man, and replace her heroic wartime identity with a conventionally feminine one, centered on the functions considered natural to her. (82)

Ruth Roach Pierson makes a similar observation regarding the post-war lives of Canadian women in *"They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood."* As she points out:

> egalitarian rhetoric was the main legacy of the Second World War's assault on sex roles, for the talk of equality of opportunity and accessibility was consistently belied by rehabilitation training schemes designed to perpetuate a sex-stereotyped and sex-segregated labour market, as well as by a general "full employment" policy that rested to a significant degree on the retirement of tens of thousands of women to domesticity. (13)

The pressure on women to return to the home ran through the governmental labour policies that followed the war. According to Jennifer Stephen, "domestic stability was a central design principle underlying postwar employment policy. Stability and respectability closely informed pro-natalist planning for white, middle-class, heterosexual women within a policy regime that took up motherhood as the integral, if implicit, policy objective" (222). *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, as I explore in Chapter Five, became popular forums for discussions about the status of women, while stories such as Elsie Fry Laurence's "Going Home" or Anne Allison's "Airmail to Heaven" trace the choices, risks, and sacrifices entailed in women's resistance to—or acceptance of—the re-assumption of their pre-war identities.

Some aspects of this pre-war identity were, in fact, maintained even at the height of the War. In particular, the construction of women as consumers was played up by the magazines. Economically, this emphasis was a pragmatic one for the magazines to advocate, given that the advertisers on which they depended for support continued to focus on selling consumer products to a market wives and mothers whose domestic responsibilities continued to include shopping and managing the family finances. *Chatelaine*, for instance, devoted itself to keeping women up-to-date on wartime rationing and educating women on responsible spending practices. Mary Etta Macpherson, who co-edited *Chatelaine* with Sanders during the War, noted that Canadian women did 85 per cent of the consumer buying in the country, making it imperative that women support Canada's wartime economy by buying Canadian-made goods and keeping up-to-date on rationing (Mar. 1942 2). Later in the War, both Sanders and Macpherson discussed the cycle of inflation and deflation and gave women advice on consumer strategies that could mitigate the extremes of this cycle, thus bringing about national stability. In these ways, both Sanders and Macpherson linked nationalism and consumerism, making women's spending habits into a question of national importance and a contribution to victory. In Macpherson's words:

> Money flows through your hands every day, every week in the year; it's up to you to channel every possible dollar to the main issue before us which is Victory. Nothing else matters—and once we get hold of that one fact, and strip away all

> excess trappings of personal desires, selfish whims, nonessential spending, once we streamline every home in this country to a Victory-conscious pattern, no Luftwaffe, no Axis strategy, can stop our forward march. And you might like to mull over W. Somerset Maugham's famous words: "If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too." (Oct. 1942 76)

As this editorial makes clear, women's role as society's consumers did not shift during the War; rather, it was given a patriotic slant even as women participated more widely in the economies of production as well as consumption.

The link between consumerism and nationalism was not confined to pieces written by the magazines' editors and authors. CWAC, for example, played up the images of shopping in the recruitment advertisements that they ran in both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*. One such ad, which appeared in the November 1943 issue of *Canadian Home Journal*, showed two women standing before a plate glass window, looking at a CWAC uniform (see Figure 18). The slogan underneath the picture has one girl saying "C'mon Peg, it'll be thrilling!" to her friend. A smaller illustration at the bottom of the page shows both girls in uniform with their pretty smiles and feminine hairstyles intact. Portrayed as shoppers, the advertisement presented women to themselves as consumers who, in this case, were about to purchase a "thrilling" new identity as a C.W.A.C officer much the same way they would purchase a new outfit. Moreover, the text of the recruitment advertisement promised "you will be happy in your work, find it pleasant and easy, and you will also find the path to promotions. It's a great life for a girl, great in every way you look at it. You can't leave the task of winning the War all to the men … join up today" (49). This statement suggests that the pleasure that advertisers associated with shopping could be turned into the "pleasant and easy" tasks of protecting Canada, thus suggesting that women could turn their power as consumers into the power to save their nation.

Contradictorily, the magazines also took up ways in which the nation at war could confer a degree dignity and independence to women that they had not previously had. As Sanders argued:

> World War II finds in women a potential army of vast significance. Yet it is an army which has had no help in mobilization or in planning its activities. It is an army which is organizing and leading itself, which is realizing its own possibilities for work. Consider the quarter of a million women who have registered themselves for service, for training, for voluntary help, under the significant Voluntary Registration of Canadian Women. Consider the thousands of girls and women who have done what was declared impossible—tabulate the statistics for the most modern filing system. Realize that thousands upon thousands of these cards are now with the proper authorities in Ottawa. Duplicates are back in provincial headquarters. Ready. Prepared. All achieved by the women themselves. (Mar. 1941 1)

As much as the task of filing highlighted by Sanders connects to women's pre-war office work, her emphasis on the self-sufficiency of women and their ability to achieve the "impossible" constitutes a rhetoric of empowerment. Throughout the War, features lauding the accomplishments of women abounded in both magazines. Such features included "Diary of a Red Army Nurse" (*Journal* Nov. 1943), "I Joined the RCAF's Women's Division" (*Journal* Jan. 1943), "Women's Work in Wartime" (*Journal* Mar. 1940) "Key Women at Ottawa" (*Journal* Aug. 1942) "Night Blooming Savants" (*Journal* Jan. 1944, about women's night school attendance in fields as various as fashion, chemistry, and foreign languages), "Our Girls in Uniform Serve Poland" (*Chatelaine* Apr. 1942), "Women's School for Citizenship" (*Chatelaine* June 1943), and "Woman Can Win the Peace" (*Chatelaine* Feb. 1944). In addition to these articles, the work of the magazines' researchers and writers was in itself a form of independent involvement in the War. Writers such as Mollie McGee and Lotta Dempsey of *Chatelaine* trekked across England and Canada, respectively, reporting to their readers on the activities of women in both nations. This wealth of materials indicate the extent to which both magazines serve as a record of the daily experiences of women during the War and a catalogue of their many accomplishments. As it turns out, both magazines were loathe to surrender this focus at the end of the War.

The resistance of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* to the post-war removal of women from public and national service surfaced in numerous articles over the course of 1944 and 1945. In July 1945, for example, Kathleen McDowell's *Journal* article, "The Post-War Woman," predicted a "revolution in the business world sooner or later, because [woman] will fight for a chance to work" (16) and cited women's socio-economic security and right to access well-paying jobs whether they were single or married as the chief concern of Canadian women; similarly, Agnes MacPhail proclaimed that "women won't leave industry of their own free will. The thrill of a pay envelope carries them through hours of tedious work and compensates for lost leisure. They are somebody! They've arrived" (Farquharson 2). The undercurrent of these, and many other pieces, was clear: nationalism had altered social and economic opportunities for women, and many women now sought to alter the post-war nation in an effort to maintain those opportunities. Other articles, in keeping with this theme, pointed out the losses that women had already faced. In August 1945, for example, a *Chatelaine* article titled "Working Mothers" enumerated the statistics regarding the:

> lay-off of women workers at the big war plants [that] has been proceeding with such quiet orderliness as to be practically soundless, so far as the general public is concerned. This is rather surprising when you think back to the days of '43 and '44 and remember the flood of predictions and opinions which swirled round the fascinating and enigmatic figure of the Post-war Woman. Would she stay stubbornly on the job or would she go home peaceably? That was the question. (Macpherson 68)

As it turned out, by August 1945, the "Dominion Bureau of Statistics reported the number of women employees was reduced by 25 500 or almost 5%, and the greatest reduction took place in the types of jobs formerly held by men, such as manufacturing, mining, and transportation" (68) However, as Macpherson notes:

> the economic independence which so many women earned for themselves, the self-respect engendered by mastering new skills, and the comradeship of other women in the canteen and rest rooms, will not easily be forgotten. The profit motive is [as] a powerful factor for the individual [as it is] for Big Business. A

> wife or mother who sees an opportunity to raise her family's standard of living by becoming a wage earner will find it irksome indeed if this freedom of choice is denied her. (68)

Noting changes in the workforce in Britain, where women were demanding daycares and school lunch programs so that they could maintain their jobs outside the home, and in the United States, where women made up forty per cent of the paid workforce, Macpherson observed that "the time may be near when the old conservative cliché, "Woman's place is in the home," may be dropped as useless baggage" (68).

Another *Chatelaine* article, "Should We Go to College?" took up the educational opportunities of young women in Canada. The article began by asking, "Will there be room in the professions for women after the War? Does the girl who spends her "marrying years" at college lose out in the romance division? What good is the Arts Course as a wage earner?" (2) and went on to explain that *Chatelaine* had asked a panel of young women from Toronto for their opinions on education. The article noted that while a small group of the young women wanted to settle into marriage as quickly as possible, the majority of them wanted a university education. Their reasons for seeking this education made it clear that there was a deep division in attitudes towards labour, as the writer noted that half the girls felt "that every woman should be able to earn her own living" (2), while the other half took the view that college was a prime marriage market in which "broader contacts and more preparation for becoming an alert, interesting wife" (2) made it possible to secure a partner. In this instance, *Chatelaine* adopted a neutral stance towards the question of women's post-war economic prospects. Editorially, this was a wise manoeuvre, as the magazine risked alienating and offending readers by taking sides. *Chatelaine*'s ambivalence thus suggests both the unease of the period of reconstruction and the ways in which mass-market magazines navigated between subjugating and liberating women within the context of nationalism.

The advertising, for its part, unabashedly resurrected the image of the housewife who spent a significant amount of energy shopping, cooking, and cleaning. Unlike the articles, which adopted a questioning attitude over women's future roles in Canada, the advertisements positioned women in the post-war economy as wives, mothers, and consumers. Canada, the backdrop of women's lives, was figured as a modern nation in which the consumption of goods was the hallmark of middle-class life and progress. Women were thus shown to participate in this new national life of peace and prosperity by taking up their pre-war roles, while the War, as a national crisis that was nearly over, was shown to have had the long-term benefit of advancing industry and consumer life in Canada for the better.

In the midst of all of these non-fiction features, advertisements, illustrations, and editorials, the fiction of both magazines continued to appear in the prominent opening pages of the periodicals. It also made up an average of forty per cent of the magazines' total content. The layout and design of the magazines, combined with the sheer amount of fiction, suggests the importance of this material to readers. Stories always appeared at the top of the table of contents and, accordingly, they took up double-page spreads between pages one and seventeen of each issue of both magazines. These pages combined editorial blurbs about the significance of a given story, colourful illustrations, and the opening text of each story. The stories themselves responded to the social conditions that were explored in other aspects of the magazines, with the genre of the fiction staunchly remaining romance.

Canadian identity, with patriotism and national community constituting the purpose behind the individual activities of women in Canada, was at the heart of this fiction. Short stories for the war years were both an articulation of the experiences of the War shared by readers and an escape from the daily pressures and widespread fears generated by the War. As with Depression-era fiction, wartime fiction achieved this dual purpose by beginning with a problem relevant to the lives of readers and ending with an idealization of Canadian life as it ought to be. Importantly, fiction differed from wartime articles and advertisements, which perpetually asked women to donate, volunteer, or work to protect the nation, in that the fiction offered an imaginative respite from the imperative to give to the nation. Readers were free be transported to a more ideal world through reading fiction; rather than being educated on wartime activities or exhorted to participate in them, fiction forged an imaginative connection between the reader and a narrator who spoke to wartime experiences through a medium designed to provide leisurely entertainment. That said, the fiction did, in its own way, ask a great deal of women. As the stories portrayed a world to believe in, dream of, and work toward, they advocated certain principles that Canadian women ought to adopt. They also, as I will discuss in more detail further on, conveyed a mentality that regimented states of emotion and unquestioning patriotism, thus pressuring women to conform to that mentality even as the fiction served as an escape from these demands.

I have broken my discussion of the fiction into two sections. The first section focuses on the early years of the War, a time when the fiction dealt primarily with recruitment and sustained fighting. The second section turns to the closing years of the War, when the fiction re-focused itself according to post-war concerns. As with the fiction I selected from the Depression, the wartime stories that I discuss here are thematically and stylistically representative of magazine fiction from September 1939 to the end of 1945. Interestingly, short stories of roughly 2500 words took the place of lengthy serials, creating a rushed and compressed form of reading that was in keeping with a sensation of wartime intensity. With their romantic endings, such stories have typically been dismissed as fluff. They do not, after all, aim for the realism of Canadian "canonical" fiction, such as Gabrielle Roy's scathing criticism of the Second World War in *The Tin Flute* (1947) or Hugh MacLennan's portrayal of the 1917 Halifax explosion in *Barometer Rising* (1948). They also do not participate in the kinds of formal experimentation that marked the high literature of their era. Yet, the magazine fiction was realistic and significant in its appeal to the various anxieties and stresses of daily life that women faced; simultaneously, and perhaps paradoxically, they provided an escape from these fears by reducing the complexities of social events to simple narratives, and these narratives repeated the same thematic patterns in which the values of love, peace, and harmony—in both the national sense and the personal sense—prevailed.

In the previous chapter, I argued that the fiction presented Canadian identity as conflicted terrain: "modern life" is treated as a series of negotiations that remain unresolved at the end of both serials despite the happy ending and romantic idealization with which "The Winter Road" concludes. The fiction of the war years is much more conclusive, far less ambiguous: nationalism, communal effort, and complete faith in the war effort underwrote the fiction. The stories showed women who created the best possible home life despite wartime circumstances, who supported their husbands' enlistment and overseas fighting, and who worked and volunteered tirelessly in both strengthening Canada in the midst of war and building the nation for the future. As noted earlier, the stories dealt with problems stemming from the War, yet the approach of the stories differed from that of the articles: the non-fiction contents recommended actions and attitudes that women ought to adopt, but the fiction had the power to persuade readers to adopt a patriotic attitude towards Canada and to participate in the war effort by conveying the urgency and emotional satisfaction of such attitudes and actions. In short, where the non-fiction content of the magazine was prescriptive, the fiction was seductive. It is to this seductive nationalism that I now turn.

Reading the Souls of Soldiers: "Soldier" and "Lady Going West"

In July 1940, the *Journal* published a story by a now-unknown author named Matt Armstrong. He had been awarded first prize in the Women's Canadian Club of Toronto's annual literary competition, yet the editorial blurb that described the winning entries indicates that nationalism, as much as literary merit, contributed to the success of Armstrong's story. Indeed, the organizers of the competition, along with the *Journal*'s editors, saw the competition as a source of nation-building, telling readers that it was "part of our service to Canada. The Club wants the voice of Canada to be heard. This is what *Canadian Home Journal* wants also" (12). In this way, the magazine made Canadian writers and their works essential to the development of national consciousness, with the *Journal* serving as the happy medium between literary works and readers' consciousness. The editors go on to explain that "Soldier" was chosen from among 263 stories that were submitted "from every part of Canada" (12), thus presenting Canada as a nation of integrated communities, all of which were welcome to contribute to national thought through the production of the magazine's text. Next, the editors encouraged the sympathetic reception of the story among readers receiving the magazine in their homes by describing the reception of the story when it was read out loud in Toronto. On this occasion, the editors noted, "Soldier" was "made public to a great audience of women in

Toronto and held [the audience] spellbound" (13). They ventured a patriotic explanation for this reaction:

> "Soldier," in fact, [is] a story which would be found, could we open the soul of any member of our Canadian troops and read. And judging from the response of the great audience of the Toronto Women's Canadian Club when it was read, it is a story which echoes in the women standing faithfully behind our men, from all parts of our Dominion. (13)

"Soldier," then, was meant to be interpreted as a fiction that embodied the sentiments that all readers not only ought to feel, but truly did feel. The emphasis on all Canadians united as readers, and the expression of the fundamental response that unified the nation, made the *Journal*'s fiction a site of morality and national courage at the commencement of the Second World War. Moreover, "Soldier" held an audience of listeners "spellbound," and it would presumably have the same effect on readers at home, making this audience united in their silent acceptance of both nationalism and the demands made of them as individuals within the nation. That is, the editors discussed "Soldier" as a fiction that heightened the feeling of national unity in Canada and subsequently instructed readers on not only how to read the story, but also how to be Canadian.

Having been prefaced in this manner, "Soldier" opens with the second-person narration of the thoughts of Ralph, a married man in a small, unnamed town in Canada, as he reflects on how he would like to spend his apparently ordinary Saturday. By the end of the first paragraph, however, Armstrong focuses on Ralph's unease, saying "but you have forgotten such things as beauty and peace. These are in the past" (12). The story goes on to review Ralph's resentment towards the Canadian state, which did not care about him and his family during the Depression, but now calls upon him to risk his life for a war on a distant continent:

> "Did they do anything honorable a few years ago when Shirley was a newborn and I had no work? Did they care whether we lived or died?" That's one thing, you think. In peacetime, they're sorry. They shake their heads and they're so sorry but there isn't a thing they can do. In fact, they're cutting down the way things are; but as soon as they want to start a war they'll give you a job at one-

> thirty a day with a uniform and board and transportation and a bright new gun and all the red-hot lead you can shoot. (12)

From here, Ralph reflects on the desperation and degradation of the Depression, when he could find no work and many of the wealthier people in town either looked down on him or shrugged and said they would like to help him but simply could not find a way to do so. Now, Ralph finally has a real job as a bookkeeper, but the War threatens to disrupt the life he is re-building. He also remembers his older brother, Dave. Looking at an old photograph, he thinks "they took you over to France the last time and shot the living guts out of you and still they're not satisfied because they want to do it over again and this time it's my turn. They want my life, too" (42). He decides then that he will have nothing to do with the War, arguing "I am just as much a Canadian as the next one, but…well, Europe is three thousand miles away. Why should we butt in on their insanity? My wife and kids come first. I am going to think of them." (42). It is ironic, then, that Ralph's two daughters become the cause of his decision to enlist. They "rush into the room. Shirley is eight. Joan is five. They are full of life" (42), and Ralph realizes that

> maybe before long there wouldn't be any world worth living in unless that mad dog across the sea is leashed and muzzled. And it breaks through from the fog into the clarity of your mind that you knew all of the time what had to be done if you and your kids were ever going to look forward in full happiness. (43)

He leaves the house and, when he returns, he is in uniform. His daughters are jubilant, and Irene, his wife, says with tears of pride, "you look swell" (43). The story concludes with Ralph's feelings of resounding pride:

> Your heart is swelling. You want to weep, too. The tears are burning behind your eyes. But you daren't weep. You are a man. You are a soldier. And down inside you feel all the new, full richness bursting in your heart, you are filled with power and strength, and you begin to laugh, full and rich and strong, billowing out through the room, enveloping in its strength all the other sounds there, the shrill shouts of the children and the quiet voice of your wife. (43)

With its perpetual use of the "you" and patriotic certainty in its conclusion, "Soldier" echoes the style and sentiments of wartime recruitment posters directed at both men and women. As one CWAC advertisement in the *Journal* put it, "there's real satisfaction in knowing that you are doing your full share to help win this war" ("Come On, Girls" *Canadian Home Journal* Dec. 1943 32).

This parallel leads to the question of where wartime rhetoric ended and fiction began, as "Soldier" blurred the lines. While the story runs through an entire range of possible responses to the War—resentment, bitterness, anger, and the rejection of nationalism—in the end, there is only one "right" response, and that is the nationalistic one. While the story's opening suggests that men had a choice—one could choose enlistment or one could choose to stay home with one's family—its conclusion relegates all choices outside of enlistment to an emasculating, anti-national realm. In this way, the story borders on propaganda, particularly when placed alongside Gabrielle Roy's 1947 novel *Bonheurs d'Occasion* (*The Tin Flute* in English translation). The novel, which received the literary prizes of the Prix Feminina from France and the Governor General's Award from Canada, pursued a scathing criticism of the War for exploiting the most disadvantaged members of Montreal society, as nearly all of the male characters "choose" to enlist because it is their only means of escaping abject poverty. "Soldier," in contrast, constructs a gender identity for men in which masculinity is defined as patriotic action and a willingness to sacrifice oneself for Canada. In this construction, the fiction acknowledges the class politics and poverty of the 1930s, but treats these facets of Canadian life as facets to be forgiven and forgotten for the sake of the future, rather than continuing influences on enlistment that made some classes more vulnerable to exploitation than others. In effect, Roy's book looks at the deep divisions in Canadian society that were exacerbated by the War; "Soldier," in contrast, represents a Canada united seamlessly through nationalism in the face of war.

That said, Ralph does not, in fact, join the military out of a purely patriotic desire to defend the nation. Where the *Journal* positioned the story as staunchly Canadian—and made the ideas of "Canadian" and patriotism synonymous—the story itself contains some elements of resistance that prevent it from being a form of propaganda. For example, Ralph never articulates his decision as a decision that will help either the state or his anonymous fellow citizens, nor does he consider Canada a land of freedom and democracy—a set of ideologies—worth dying for. Despite its conclusion, the story's catalogue of the state's lack of concern for its citizens during the Depression, not to mention the state's willingness to endanger ordinary Canadians in times of war—takes up three-quarters of the narrative, causing a residual ambivalence about the nation-state that hangs over the ending. Moreover, Ralph joins the military for very specific, personal reasons: he wants to protect his wife and daughters from worse threats than those posed by economic depression and internal state governance. "Soldier" imagines Ralph's limited agency as a choice between varying degrees of evil—the vagaries of one's own nation versus the aggression of another—and it locates the motivation for exercising any form of agency in the home, family, and private life that, while embedded in a national context, is often at odds with it. This tension carries over into the utopian "romance" ending of the story. Ralph wins love and gains back the dignity he lost during the Depression by becoming a soldier, but the immediate future before him is a dystopia. He must depart for a life of violence, and while his triumphant journey to and from the enlistment office in the story prefigures the imagining of a similarly triumphant journey to and from the war zone, that journey will be far from idyllic. If there is any utopia in this story, it is not Canada's past or present, but a future that can only be made possible by preventing the spread of the even greater dystopia, represented by Hitler, that threatened the Canadian nation from the outside.

With its focus on the mind of a new soldier, Armstrong's story leaves us wondering how women—the audience of listeners and readers for whom this story was intended—were implicated in this narrative. There are two ways of answering this question. The first answer lies in the figure of Irene, who quietly knits throughout the story. Irene's knitting is a sign of her own contribution to the war effort, as knitting for soldiers was one of the things women were asked to do in the magazines throughout the War. In July 1941, for example, Sanders' editorial noted that "the call for help in knitting comforts for the men, women, and children who have been bombed out of their homes, or who are serving in the civilian defences in Britain needs an immediate answer" (2), and both magazines consistently ran ads for the Red Cross that asked women to knit socks, scarves, and mittens for soldiers. At the same time, Irene is shown to be a woman who supports her husband-turned-soldier and, in this way, she typifies the figure of a "sweetheart" from which soldiers were supposed to draw their inspiration and strength. As a newspaperman-turned-soldier Jack Scott told *Chatelaine* in 1945, his reasons for enlisting in 1942 were "his own three "best girls": his mother; Brown Eyes, his wife, who works in "some fantastic machine in a war plant"; and his three-year-old daughter, Judith" (Feb. 2). He went on to note that "in camp it doesn't take long to find out that every soldier has at least one woman who gives the War (and his part in it) lasting meaning" (Feb. 2). In recognition of these women, *Chatelaine* published Scott's poem "The Army's Sweetheart" as a part of their Valentine's issue. To return to the story "Soldier," Irene's obvious pride in Ralph's decision to enlist as she says "You look swell" (43), indicate her willingness to give up her husband for the sake of the nation—the only sacrifice greater than the one Ralph is willing to make. Ralph, in response, is nearly overwhelmed by his own desire to cry with pride.

Women, as much as they were shown "standing behind" their men in this fashion, were also made to stand in for the nation itself. Beyond the brief descriptions of Irene's actions and her quiet words, Irene's thoughts remain a mystery. She is not a character through whom we read the soul of Canadian women, but a symbol for the nation: Irene, and by extension her daughters, are the ideals of love, peace, and a prosperous future to be gained by fighting; they are the concretization that stands in for the abstract concept of the nation and the anonymity of its citizens. According to Gill Plain:

> The equation of women with peace and creativity is as old as the association of women with a domestic sphere detached from the politics of public life. Society has long constructed women in opposition to war. Woman has been appropriated as a symbol of peace and domesticity, a repository of the values that must be left at home in the heat of battle, and she has constituted the object of battle—a prized possession that must be protected—the struggle for which personalizes war aims that are otherwise abstract and distant. In time of war, an abstract notion of woman symbolizes the nation under threat. (ix)

The figure of Irene is a perfect embodiment of the abstract notion outlined by Plain, which is not surprising, given the prevalence of this symbolism in the war rhetoric of many other nations, including Britain and France, during the War. In Canada, however, the woman-as-nation symbol was given a unique spin in that this symbol was related to the figure of the Canadian pioneering woman.

The relationship between the courage and strength attributed to pioneers and the courage and strength required of women during the War became a common theme in *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* throughout the War. Macpherson, for instance, penned an editorial for the July 1943 issue of *Chatelaine* in which she reflects on her pioneering foremothers. In it, she asks readers:

> Does it take some appreciable effort to link the spirit of Great-Grandmother with that of the girls who march in uniform down the street? I don't think so. From the standpoint of time and environment, they are separated by a century at least, but the driving force which urged them to immediate, practical action was the same, and the character which shapes and strengthens through such a process, and holds always to the long vision, has a splendid timelessness. The pioneer woman was a modernist in her world; the girl in fighting blue or khaki is indisputably of the pioneer breed. They would have understood each other. (2)

Macpherson's editorial not only remakes the woman-as-nation symbol into one through which Canadian women could find something unique about their situation, but also gives situates this symbol between the past and the future in a way that makes the demands of the War seems short-term and worthwhile. A better future will be won, Macpherson suggests, and the inspiration for winning it can be found in the history of Canadian women. State-sponsored advertisements, such as the "Don't Stare at my Pants" ad, also connected contemporary Canadian women to their pioneering ancestors. As the C.W.A.C ad noted regarding the "ladies" in blue trousers, "they demonstrate the revival of the heroic spirit of the pioneers who laid the foundation of our country. The women folk in those days stood shoulder to shoulder with their men, either at the plow or the palisade" (3). Irene, standing behind her man, quietly knitting, and raising her daughters throughout both the squalor of the Depression and the risks of the War, was the product of this heritage, and the magazines set it out as a heritage shared by all Canadian women who were contributing to the war effort.

The concept of the pioneer appears again in a story published by the *Journal* in July 1942. Written by another now-unknown author, Jenethea York, the story "Lady Going West" took up the idea of Canada's wild west alongside representations of Canadian soldiers overseas. The story's treatment of overseas work is one example of a general shift in the themes of the fiction that took place between 1940 and 1942, a shift in which enlistment became a less important concern in the fiction than sustained fighting. That said, "Lady Going West" actually diverts attention from the violence and chaos of the War, choosing instead to deal with to the domestic sphere and the concerns of love and marriage. The War, in this story, is a backdrop for romance in that it brings together two characters who would not otherwise meet—a Canadian soldier and a British lady. The story opens with the thoughts of Theodora Inglefield. A young woman born into the aristocratic home of "Broadacres," she faces destitution after the death of her parents. She has been forced to sell her home to Geoffrey Frinton, with Frinton "generously" offering her the chance to remain at her ancestral home—as his mistress. Theodora is therefore faced with the choice between giving up her social status in exchange for financial security or risking poverty in exchange for her reputation (which will be rendered useless by a slide into poverty). Preoccupied with her limited choices, Theodora literally bumps into Private Edward McCulley of the Canadian First Division on the train platform to Broadacres. As fate would have it, Edward has been invited to Broadacres for the weekend by Frinton's flirtatious daughter, Lenore. In this very compact story, Theodora and Edward fall in love at first sight. After having dinner at Broadacres and going for a walk in the fields the next morning, they agree to marry; Theodora will immigrate to Canada after the War.

While the story is compact and appears on the surface to be a simple tale of love and marriage, it in fact conveys some central themes about Canada, the War, and women that were endemic to the magazine fiction of the period. Most notably, York makes Edward McCulley into a symbol of Canada. She draws attention to this symbolization early in the story, as Theodora looks up at him and immediately sees "the Maple Leaf, and laugh[ing] up at him and sa[ys], "Hello Canada! It's fine to have you here" (20). She continues to call Edward by this nick-name throughout the story, and the editors drew attention to the phrase by printing a large illustration with the opening page of the story that showed Theodora and Edward on a train platform with Theodora's "Hello Canada! It's fine to have you here" printed beneath it (see Figure 19). York goes on to describe McCulley as someone who is

> used to wide, open spaces where there is room to spare for everyone. [...] He had not the least idea of his own attractiveness. Six foot tall, broad-shouldered, lean and hard and fighting-fit, strong yet finely modelled features, keen, far-seeing blue eyes often half veiled so misleadingly by lazily dropped-down lids, a straight-cut firm yet tender mouth. (7)

Soon after this description, we learn that he is on his way to Broadacres to meet Lenore. Despite Lenore's overt attempts to seduce him, "Ed" maintains a determined but polite distance from her because "he had his own code as to how ladies should be treated and his own idea of how they should behave. He decided that Miss Lenore Frinton was very young and innocent, and felt glad that his code was rigid enough to stand a strain" (7). Restrained and respectful, he becomes the foil to Frinton, who is a lecherous and exploitive aristocrat.

The difference between the two men is fully drawn during the dinner party that ensues after Theodora and Ed's arrival at Broadacres. Under the bright chandeliers in the dining room of Theodora's former home, the party proves itself to be little more than idle, ignorant chatter throughout which Geoffrey pressures (unbeknownst to the other guests) Theodora to succumb to being his mistress. Theodora determinedly refuses him because, looking down the table at Ed, she draws courage from the "steadfast strength about him. With him, one would feel security and a serenity that allowed no doubts" (20). In short, she falls in love with a man she believes, from the conversation over dinner, to be a simple prairie farm boy with an unimpeachable moral centre and a penchant for hard work and courage, all of which shows through in both his personality and his personal appearance. As the romantic hero of the story who also stands in for the nation of Canada, York offers a highly idealized and romantic vision of Canada to her readers.

While the story goes on to allude to the difficulties of prairie life in Canada, Ed's strength of character in overcoming such difficulties becomes a part of this idealization. At the same time, his presence in England as a soldier makes him into a potential war hero, and the fact that the English people in the story are frivolous and immoral heightens his heroic stature in that the people he defends may not truly deserve his sacrifice.

Building on this less-than-flattering view of the English, York goes on to mock imperial ignorance about the colonies. Canada, in the minds of Frinton and his guests, is a wild and dangerous place that imposes a combination of material want and dubious adventure on its inhabitants. Ed, realizing that he will not be able to convince them otherwise, plays to their misconceptions for his own amusement. In York's description, once Frinton and his guests learn that

> Private McCulley had lived and worked on a ranch, and had ridden a horse and handled a gun for as long as he could remember, nothing could distract them from the enthralling subjects of cowboys, quick shooting, sheriffs, and cattle-thieves, the things that one usually only read about in books. Ed rose to the occasion nobly. He realized at once that it would be most difficult to convince them that the exciting adventures they imagined to be everyday occurrences for him belonged to days before he was born, and that they would be exceedingly disappointed if he did convince them. So he did not try. (20)

Importantly, Ed is in control of the narrative about Canada to the point of constructing an erroneous one for his unsuspecting audience. Theodora, too, buys into the myth of frontier Canada, which builds up Edward's heroic stature in her mind. She determines that whatever the hardships of life on a Canadian ranch might be, "his life would be her life; it was the measure of her love" (24). To immigrate from England to Canada, then, is to commit an act of self-sacrifice for the sake of true love—or so it seems to Theodora.

Ed, however, is not a rough cowboy, but the heir to a fortune, and his life in Canada is based in a comfortable, upper-class home in Montreal. His class status has been masked throughout the story, as his uniform and lowly military designation as a private erase visible markers, like clothing, of his social superiority. Indeed, as a private he is consigned to travel third-class on the train, while Theodora travels in first. The truth comes out when Ed suggests that his dad will buy Broadacres back for Theodora as a wedding gift, "disposing of the intervening Atlantic as anyone would who is used to plenty of space" (24). Theodora warns him Broadacres is costly, as she secretly believes that her new fiancé cannot afford it, but she soon learns that Ed's father is rich beyond her wildest dreams. As he explains, "Dad—well, Dad, you know, is the director of a great railroad, and other things besides. That little ranch of ours is a hobby for him" (24). He goes on to tell her that they have built a new ranch house "fit for a queen" (24) and his father would love Broadacres because he had "often talked of coming to England some day" (24). In these concluding paragraphs, Canada suddenly emerges as the land of progress, industry, and wealth, with the ranch being relegated to the status of "a hobby," thus marking the decreasing importance of agriculture to Canada's rapidly industrializing wartime economy. More importantly, the frivolous English aristocrats, the Frintons, have unwittingly placed themselves on the brink of losing their home, a scenario that resonates with the plot of "The Thunder of New Wings," in which a young man from Canada visits England and usurps the land-owning gentry who have held sway over the countryside for centuries. "Lady Going West" therefore concludes by imagining Canada's supremacy over England—a supremacy that was echoed in England's dependency on soldiers from current and former colonies during the War.

In this sense, "Lady Going West" clashes with the colonial victimhood that Margaret Atwood discusses in *Survival*, as well as with Frye's formulation of the "garrison mentality." As much as these assessments of Canada's literary history have been revised, they continue to be the starting point for discussions of Canadian literature as a national literature. The fiction of Canada's mass-market magazines reveals a different, even contrary, side to Canada's construction through literature than the formative critical interpretations of "high" literature from the 1930s and 1940s allow. Stories such as "Lady Going West" posit an idyllic Canada that resists both the western-genre stories referred to in "Lady Going West" and the "garrison mentality;" they also fall outside of revisionist histories that focus on, for example, multiculturalism or the recuperation of female authors into literary history. In the Canada of mass-market magazine fiction, life is easy and comfortable, and the nation offers its incoming citizens, like Theodora, the possibility of a future of one's own making that is symbolized by the "open spaces" that the writer emphasizes. These possibilities, however, are largely the domain of men like Edward McCulley and his father; Canada was presented as a nation of industry, progress, and wealth, but Theodora's place within that nation is clearly a marginal one. She accepts the "natural" role of a wife, and the fact that this role will be semi-leisured is a mark of her husband's success, making her into a symbol of that success as well. In this way, the idealization of life in Canada, particularly the life of war brides, maintains strict gender expectations, thus keeping these expectations intact despite the shifts in women's opportunities during the War. Moreover, the treatment of the pioneer woman that Theodora envisions herself becoming is deposed in the vision of the end of the War, a vision in which Theodora will become part of a modern class of semi-leisured wives.

Significantly, there is never any doubt over Private Edward McCulley's ability to survive the War. Printed in July 1942, the Second World War was far from over, yet the "Lady Going West" treats the War as little more than a distant event that makes the meeting of the hero and heroine possible. The implied assurance of not only Ed's survival, but also an eventual victory over Hitler, offered readers a temporary relief from the anxieties wrought by the War and helped maintain national morale. In this way, "Lady Going West" exemplifies the way in which much wartime fiction simultaneously made the War both omnipresent and conspicuously absent from the story. While the War is the reason for Edward McCulley's presence in England, he is on leave from the actual fighting for the duration of the story. At the same time, there is never any mention of what he does in the military. Instead, York shifts between a focus on his life in Canada prior to the War and an imagining of the life in peaceful, prosperous Canada to which he will bring Theodora after the War. The setting of the story also denies the proximity of the fighting, as the characters are removed from London and its air raids early in the story to the pastoral, idyllic space of the English countryside that fosters their romance. While the story acknowledges that the War existed, it goes on to provide an escape from it by suggesting the presence of an idealized space in England that co-existed within the war zone. By making this coexistence imaginable, it reinforces the idea that this peaceful space is the natural state of things to which post-war England will return.

In its representation of this natural yet idealized state, “Lady Going West” privileges the assurance of love over the threat of violence. In this way, the story asserts a set of values that were antithetical to the death and destruction of the War by positing love, peace, and hope for the future as essential, guiding values in life. According to Janice Radway, these values have long been associated with femininity, with the “the romance underlin[ing] the opposition between the values of love and those associated with the competitive pursuit of status and wealth” in a way that “perpetuat[es] the exclusive division of the world into the familiar categories of the public and the private” in which women belong in the private, emotionally-dominated sphere and men in the public, economically-dominated one (216-17). York’s story thus raises the question of where femininity either diverged from, or served, the war effort.

Theodora, as the romantic heroine, is a powerless figure. The choice she faces between sexual servitude and poverty early in the story speaks to a restricted and vulnerable existence. She has no skills that she can use to take care of herself, as we find out when she reflects briefly on her failure to manage the finances of an antique shop that she and her best friend open. In fact, Theodora is well aware that her only value lies in the marriage market, where “her breeding and her beauty” (6) make her a desirable commodity. Such an assessment of women runs counter to the demands that the Second World War made of women, and the freedom and possibilities for education and employment that these demands facilitated.

These tensions are self-evident on the very pages in which the story appeared. The third page of the story, for example, was split in half, with the right-hand side of the page taken up by “Lady Going West” while the left-hand side ran a public service announcement from the Nutrition Program of the Federal Department of Pensions and National Health showing women working on farms to ensure the nation had enough fresh fruits, vegetables, and milk to keep its citizens healthy. The announcement encouraged women to maintain their health through proper nutrition because they had much to “contribute to the efficiency of the nation” (20). As was typical of magazines from the war years, the front cover of the *Journal* itself showed an image of the Union Jack unfurled under a blue sky, and the back cover was a recruitment ad for CWAC with the words "Match the Courage of your Fighting Men!" emblazoned across the centre, thus "wrapping" the magazine's contents in images of patriotic pride and active, self-sufficient women contributing to victory. Elsewhere in the magazine, recruitment posters for the Women's Division of the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Red Cross showed women at work on airfields and in military hospitals. "Lady Going West," by featuring a protagonist who was not even remotely engaged in any of these activities—a protagonist who was instead invested entirely in her own private concerns of beauty, finances, sex, and marriage—points to an essential contradiction about the status of women during the War. Even as women were recruited for military service, working in factories and businesses, and receiving education in fields that had been closed to them before the War, characters like Theodora continued to naturalize the idea of women aspiring to become the wives of successful men. In short, "Lady Going West" is caught up in two lines of thought about the status of women that were drawn out during the War. One line of thought advocated for women' economic and social opportunities, positioning these opportunities as the means by which women both contributed to their society and gained a chance for self-determination in the service of the nation. The other line of thought maintained the pre-war status of women in which women were essential to the building a strong nation, but their contributions were restricted to the domestic realm of home and family, with their only participation in the public sphere being the commercial practice of shopping. York's short story fell in with this second line of thought, making the role of women a traditionally feminine one in the narrative of war, victory, and the future of Canada that it told.

A Madonna in a Stained Glass Window:
"Going Home" and "Airmail to Heaven"

As the images of a post-war future drew nearer in the years 1944-45, two more distinct strands of romance fiction emerged in the magazines. The first strand was the story that dealt with the repatriation of soldiers. These stories featured both male and female protagonists who were grateful for the end of the War, but who struggled to deal with the social and emotional impact of returning home—whether that home meant Canada (in the case of men who had been overseas), or a house and children (in the case of women who had worked outside of the home). Through these stories, writers often sought to articulate the mindset of homecoming soldiers; they also pursued fictional solutions to the problems that both men and women faced as soldiers tried to re-integrate themselves into civilian life. "Going Home" by Elsie Fry Laurence,[20] was one such story (see Figure 20). Published in the December 1944 issue of *Chatelaine*, the story begins with the return of a military officer to his wife and a son. It goes on to explore the ways in which returning soldiers could fit into the nation and become part of the Canadian identity that was being re-constructed along with Canada's post-war economy and infrastructure. This identity maintained the qualities that it had had prior to the War—Canadians were portrayed as either white, urban, and middle class, or aspiring to be so, while Canada was a country devoted to peace and opportunities for social and economic improvement. Underlying this identity was the assumption that pre-war gender expectations would be re-instated. Returning soldiers had two roles—employment and parenting, with work being a prerequisite for parenthood. Women, for their part, were asked to give up their wartime occupations and return to a life of domestic responsibilities, including the care of husbands who had been injured, either physically or mentally, by the War. The second strand of fiction featured women who had suffered losses during the War—husbands, brothers, sons—that is, the stories of women who did not have to adjust to the return of their partners, but to the fact that those partners would never return. The story "Airmail to Heaven," by Anne Allison portrayed the experiences of Mary and Jay, a couple from a small town in Ontario who devoted themselves to the war effort. The story traces Mary's experiences of the War, but it does so in a way that evades the trauma of losing her husband. Instead, Mary's memories are happy ones, and she says the she feels "strangely calm and content" (32) at the end of the War. The story suggests ideal patterns of behaviour for Canadian citizens of both sexes; at the same time, it defined Canada as a community united in its beliefs and way of life—a community worth defending and, ultimately, dying for.

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[20] Elsie Fry Laurence was the mother-in-law of Margaret Laurence.

"Going Home," features Reg, an engineer who gained the education and training for his field through his participation in the War overseas. He is on his way home to his wife and son after four years away, but the story does not dwell on Reg's separation from his family; rather, it focuses on the opportunities for professional training and advancement that the War offered men like Reg. Married during the Depression, he and his wife, Clare, "built a cabin together on the edge of the bush" (11) and lived a meagre existence. Once again hearkening back to a pioneering image, Laurence goes on to explain how the birth of their first child, Tad, pushed Reg to enlist in order to support his wife and newborn son. Now that the War is over, the paperwork for Reg's discharge has been processed quickly by Ottawa officials, and "there was a position promised [to him] at his final discharge next month, where his engineering would be as useful after the War as it was" during the War (11). Reg's brother, who already lives in Ottawa, has begun looking for a new house for Reg, Clare, and Tad. This search should be easy, the story suggests, because "they" are building a lot of new housing for soldiers and their families. As a young soldier who is also on his way home remarks to Reg early in the story, the government has "tried to hand us some individual attention. They've been swell" (11). Reg agrees, and as a train takes him from Ottawa to the small town of Meadow, Manitoba to meet Clare, he imagines the ease with which he anticipates his transition from military life abroad to domestic life in Canada.

In its treatment of Reg, "Going Home" portrays the wartime identity of soldiers as an identity that can be easily transformed to fit the needs of both the commercial marketplace and the nation's need to re-build. Moreover, Reg's professional life continues to be facilitated by the nation-state that recruited him for the War. As wartime flows seamlessly into peacetime, the Canadian lifestyle available to men like Reg was the comfortable, urban middle-class lifestyle that the magazines' pre-war fiction had upheld as a national ideal. The emphasis on house-building, along with Reg's background as an engineer, re-enforces the idea of national reconstruction at the level of domestic everyday life, and returning soldiers are positioned as leaders and professionals within these new communities. Laurence thereby begins the story by representing Canada as a nation that offered its returning soldiers both the peaceful home-life that they had fought to protect during the War and the promise of a prosperous future.

Travelling by train from Ottawa to the small town of Meadow, Reg takes in the landscape through the window He thoughts reflect a profound feeling of connection to his "home" country:

> He had not realized he would feel as passionately Canadian as he did, watching the forest one day, the prairie the next, roll monotonously beyond the panes. "Going Home," the tune, found him again. After the lands he had left, this country itself was like going from the past to the future. He must control the sense of haste which had accompanied him all the tired stages of his journey. It was like moving forward, point by point, to take some far-off stronghold. Home was now the final objective. (11)

This "passionate" identification with the land dissociates the War from Canada by locating it in old-world Europe. Canada, in contrast, becomes a nation of peace, a nation whose energy is directed towards the future rather than marred by the past. In keeping with this, the long stretches of uninhabited spaces that Reg sees as he travels correlate with the "open spaces" and overall treatment of Canada as a modern, progressive nation developed in "Lady Going West." Again, Canada's landscape symbolizes freedom and possibilities.

For Reg, these possibilities include career advancement and, as much as the countryside provokes a nationalistic feeling in him, his career will re-locate him to an urban centre and a middle-class home. Importantly, the last two sentences give away his lingering identity as a soldier—hinting that Reg's transition to civilian life might be more difficult than he thinks it will be—as well as the way in which he fuses together the idea of the nation with the idea of his wife and child. This fusing echoes Armstrong's treatment of women and family in "Soldier" at the beginning of the War. Woman as a symbol for the nation remains intact at the close of the War, and Reg is effectively returning to the ideals of "peace and domesticity," "the values that must be left at home in the heat of battle," and the "prized possession that must be protected" (Plain ix). In a sense, "Soldier" and "Going Home" constitute the beginning and the ending of the overarching narrative of the War in which the War was made to seem necessary and reasonable: it was the only means possible for the defence of the nation's values (women) and future (children). In "Going Home," however, the "final objective" of the soldier's triumphant return home becomes contested terrain.

Reg arrives in Meadow alone on a quiet weekday afternoon. Wishing to avoid the usual fanfare that small towns arrange to welcome soldiers, Reg has not told Clare that he will be arriving a few days earlier than he had anticipated. He therefore turns up at a household that is not prepared for him, and from which his wife and son are absent; his worst fear, that "Clare [would] not [be] waiting for him with that intangible warm assurance that the good old life for which he had been fighting was still there" (11), begins to be realized. Instead of Clare, Reg is greeted by Clare's aunt, Helen, who has been living with Clare and Tad for the duration. She takes Reg over to the school at which Clare has been teaching. At the school, a "string of schoolgirls, staring at him between hanging curls" (11) exit from the front door before he sees Clare. The presence of only girls at the school foreshadows the unexpected and overwhelming femininity of the household to which he returns with Clare after finding her at the school. As she shows him around the unfamiliar house, he learns that a third woman, another teacher, is living there, but that she will leave now that Reg is back. Clare shows Reg to their bedroom, but leaves him standing awkwardly among the "neatly made up blue and white chenille" for a "hurried consultation about supper" (18). When she returns, she remarks "we're not used to feeding a man" (18). At this point, Tad comes home. Laurence makes Reg's sense of alienation from his home increase as Tad rushes upstairs to see his father:

> A little boy, amusingly patterned after his mother, his eyes bright with excitement […] stood in the doorway, suddenly transfixed with shyness.
>
> "Come here, Tad. This is Daddy, your own Daddy, come back to us," said Clare. The child advanced slowly. "Hi there, youngster," said Reg, with an awkward gesture. His own: a sturdy child, strong on his legs, nice white teeth. One noticed those things about a child. He could recognize nothing of himself. Any little boy could have come up to him and said, "I'm Tad," he thought, and he wouldn't have known. (18)

Tad, who is disconcertingly disappointed that his father did not bring home a bomb as a present, departs almost immediately to go back to playing with his friends. Reg remembers that he brought a gift for Clare, and his disconnection with his son is even more pronounced when Clare asks him if he has, in fact, brought anything for Tad. The thought of doing so had not even occurred to Reg. The "home" that he is returning is not the home that he had imagined; he has no place within it, and his wife and child appear to have gotten along fine without him.

Troubled, Reg raises the subject of moving to Ottawa as soon as possible so that he can take up his new job. He is startled that Clare does not immediately acquiesce. She points out that Helen would have no place to go if they sold the house in Meadow, and adds that her school will not be able to find a replacement for her quickly. In this way, Clare privileges her needs, the needs of her aunt, and the needs of the girls she teaches over the needs of her husband. She goes on to explain to Reg that it is unlikely that she will even be able to find a substitute for the next few days, and that she will therefore be unable to stay home with him. Reg realizes that his wife is not only busy with her own work, but surrounded by a community made up largely of other women, and that this community does not include him. Worse, Clare is not willing to drop everything and fit herself into his post-war plans. In effect, Reg tries to assert the new identity that the officials in Ottawa have prepared for him, but the memory of domestic life that he has fought for four years, along the vision of the future he has formed upon his return to Canada, prove to be "castles in the air dissolving around him" (20).

Gathering up Reg's travel clothing to be washed, Clare does fulfill one aspect of her role as a home-maker, yet this domestic task leaves Reg standing alone "in the dainty bedroom, where his heap of crumpled shirts and underwear looked out of place, and perspiration broke out on his face and body" (20). Later, "at the dining table, he felt like a guest; how was he to conform to this narrow domestic circle?" (20). His efforts to "conform" over the next few days cast him in the domestic role assigned to women:

> He dried dishes for Aunt Helen, and listened to her telling how wonderful Clare had been, through what she called the difficult years. Looking out the window at the peaceful landscape, he found wry amusement in the adjective. He tried to

> make friends with Tad, but found a five-year-old a somewhat unsatisfying companion. He also tried to take an interest in the [Christmas] play, and to help with staging, for they had made a practice theatre out in the garage. He had not realized that Clare had sold their old car, though she assured him she had written of it several times. (20)

Notably, both *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* ran advertisements for cars throughout the Depression and the War. In these ads, men consistently appeared behind the wheel. The reference to the car, casual though it appears, serves as a sharp suggestion of the extent to which Reg has been removed from the proverbial driver's seat. Moreover, Clare has sold a symbol of mobility, an action that suggests not only her desire to stay in Meadow, but also her power to do so. She has, in effect, reversed pre-war patterns of gendered labour. She is now the breadwinner and the one who makes decisions for her family, while Reg is consigned to the role of helpmate.

Reg's lack of authority over his family life becomes increasingly evident in his attempts to broach the subject of Ottawa as the story moves forward. Clare either changes the topic or insists that she is needed at the school and cannot arrange to leave. At the same time, her work even prevents her from devoting her full attention to her home and family, as she brings home marking and lesson plans in the evenings. Clare's wartime work therefore becomes the point of contention in their relationship, and the tension between them culminates in a bitter argument one evening. The argument takes place outside, where Clare and Reg have decided to have a bonfire. As they argue, the wide-open Canadian landscape that Reg initially perceived as peaceful becomes stark and threatening:

> the late fall evening was still and fringed with a touch of frost. The trees were bare but for the odd clinging brown leaf, their branches etched austerely against the cold sky. One lone white butterfly flitted aimlessly about the dead flower border. There was a wistful nostalgic aroma about the heap of burning leaves. (20)

The images of cold, death, and burning all suggest the destruction of Reg's ideal vision of his home, as well as his alienation from his homeland. Angry with Clare for suggesting that he try to find work in Meadow and give up his plan to move to Ottawa, Reg storms out the front gate, saying that he going to "buy some razor blades" (20), a consumer product that is removed from the feminine world in which he finds himself, although the fact that he goes shopping places him in the domestic role that he wishes to escape.

When Reg returns from the store, Helen lectures Reg on fitting into Clare's life. Her words draw attention to the gap between the symbolization of woman as the passive upholder of the nation's ideals and the independence and agency actually exercised by women during the War:

> "Don't come to hasty conclusions about your family," she said, looking at him shrewdly over the top of her glasses. "You know a woman doesn't stand in a doorway for four years, holding a baby like the Madonna in a stained glass window. Clare has had to decide everything while you were away."
>
> He felt heat rising within him and could not speak. So this thin white-haired lady had a personality of her own, he thought, regarding her with compressed lips. (20)

Reg rejects Helen's advice, choosing to view her as yet one more figure whose presence impedes his re-integration into the civilian life he believes to be his right. In effect, the impediments between Reg's actual homecoming and his imagining of it point to the gap between Reg's symbolic role as a defender of the nation and the post-war reality to which he returns. This gap is all the more marked when "Going Home" is compared to "Lady Going West." In "Lady Going West," Theodora's future departure from Britain for Canada is set out as an assimilation of a young British woman into her husband's Canadian life. She is willing to adopt her husband's nation as her own, thus giving up her past and pre-war identity to fulfill a role as the wife of a returning soldier; moreover, she has no career aspirations. In "Going Home," the gender expectations are reversed: Clare expects Reg to conform to the life that she has built for herself in his absence. His frustration at this expectation is forceful, as he tells her one night:

> "I don't know if I can get used to this civilian life," he said with a bright intensity in his face. "When I was in khaki I knew what I had to do and why I was doing it, and what I thought it was for, what was the end of it. I thought that peace and

> home were synonymous, that this was my final objective. How must I have upset your life, barging so suddenly into it!" (22)

Reg's statement reflects the dissolution of the symbol of woman as nation and his belief that "peace and home were synonymous." This dissolution could have the effect of revealing nationalist rhetoric as a hollow set of symbols removed from the realities of everyday life within the nation, but Laurence resists pursuing such a conclusion. Instead, her story upholds an underlying structure in which Reg remains superior to the women in Meadow, and this superiority pushes both Reg and Clare almost inevitably to a conclusion that restores pre-war gender roles.

Reg's willingness to sacrifice himself for his family and for his nation, and the suffering inflicted on him by the War, are both portrayed as forms of greater sacrifice than the women in Meadow can even comprehend. The first suggestion of the superiority of Reg's contribution to the War appears in his thoughts over Aunt Helen's reference to the "difficult years," which he interprets with "wry amusement." While we are told little of Reg's experiences, Laurence notes early in the story that he has "a lean, worn look" and that he is waiting for a clean bill of health because he has "a slight heart condition to clear, those spells of dizziness, [which] the specialist had told him were partly due to his nerves" (11). The War, then, has taken its toll on Reg's body. He does not tell Clare about his weakness, and she does not guess. Wanting to celebrate his homecoming, however, she organizes a party in his honour and invites everyone in Meadow. While discussing her happiness over his return, Clare remarks that she "always knew" (22) he would come back to her safely. Reg, upon hearing this:

> looked at her, amazed. He thought not so much of fighting as of the half dozen or so odd times when he had so nearly *not* come back. He thought of the three men he had known best, two of whom were killed and one a prisoner. (22)

Looking around at the townspeople of Meadow, he sees them "ranged behind a barrier of remarkable innocence" (22) that he does not have the luxury of hiding behind.

Reg tries to turn his thoughts away from his dead and missing friends by focusing on his new life. He leads Clare out to the dance floor and tells her that his brother has found a new house for them in Ottawa. In response, Clare suggests that he go on ahead of her. His reaction to her suggestion proves to be even more threatening to him than the War: "he could not go any further by himself. A pain shot through him and everything went black before him. He fell heavily to the ground, almost dragging Clare with him" (22). A physician rushes to help, and Reg, who regains consciousness, is brought back to Clare's house in Meadow to recover. While the physician attends to him, Clare reflects that "it was a good thing she had her work" (22) because she will need it to support the family while Reg recovers. The physician, however, disabuses her of such thoughts. While it turns out that Reg's collapse in not life-threatening, but the result of "indigestion and nerves" (22), the physician nonetheless gives Clare a speech that inverts Helen's earlier lecture to Reg:

> He's been waiting to get home for a long time. Our men aren't fond of fighting. They just want to get it over with and come back to a normal life. […] And they've earned a priority, these fellows," he added a bit savagely, thinking of his brilliant elder son who had been lost at sea. (22)

Where Reg was angered by Helen's speech, Clare is shaken by the physician's. Guilt-ridden, she repents and rushes to Reg's side. She immediately tells him "you will have your new home […] wherever and whenever you want it. Everything will work out if we make up our minds" (22). Reg's response, however, suggests that he is willing to compromise, as the story ends with his final words, "I'm home now, darling" (22).

While this conclusion suggests the possibility of re-fashioning Clare and Reg's home life to suit them both, the overarching idea that Reg's sacrifices for the War have been greater than Clare's remains intact, and the physician's speech effectively argues that Clare's needs and desires ought to be secondary to her husband's. Indeed, the similarity of the lectures given by Helen and the physician, and Reg and Clare's respective reactions to these lectures, mark the power of the patriarchal authority represented by the physician over the more matriarchal authority of the aunt. In this way, "Going Home" is in conversation with the ongoing discussion of women's rights and status that ran throughout the magazines toward the end of the War. The story posits that the risks men take when at war are more important than the sacrifices made by women, and equates the absence of women from the home to the absence of men from the nation:

just as men returned from overseas, women returned to the home, and life in Canada returned to normal. As a part of this national reorganization, men were not only granted an identity that translated their military experiences into a productive professional life in industry and business by the nation-state, they required this new identity in order to re-integrate themselves into Canadian society. "Going Home" thus traces the pressure on women to give up their wartime occupations, and the identity that they have built for themselves during the War, in order for the repatriated soldier to acquire a new and stable civilian identity.

The reliance on pre-war gender roles was a cornerstone of the Canadian identity that was being fashioned during the post-Second World War years, and it was treated as a means of generating a stable national future. This future could only be achieved if women like Clare could be persuaded to behave in the manner articulated by the physician. Clare's refusal to conform proves to be a threat to Reg's well-being; by the same token, the mass refusal of women to return to the home was a threat to national well-being because it upset the narrative that made the War appear both rational and necessary. To put it another way, the home and homeland that soldiers had fought for had to conform to the images and symbols—the vulnerable woman in need of protection, the children whose future was at risk—for which the War was fought, otherwise the idealization of the nation would be undermined, and the violence of the War revealed as senseless. Canadian identity, then, relied on women returning to a traditionally feminine role so that peaceful, comfortable, urban, middle-class life idealized as "Canadian" could be realized. Popular representations of this scenario thus helped to promote and naturalize this identity and the expectations of women that it prompted.

The character of Mary, in the 1945 short story "Airmail to Heaven" by Anne Allison, considered these expectations in relation to the entire unfolding of the War between 1939 and 1945. It is one of the last stories about the War to be published in the *Journal*, and it encapsulated the beginning, duration, and end of the War before turning to contemplate the future of Canada in its closing paragraphs. Unlike "Going Home," it took up the question of absence rather than repatriation—that is, it took up the effect on women and the home when soldiers did not return from the War, as well as the nationalistic rationale for the War itself. "Airmail to Heaven" begins by reviewing how Mary, the narrator, grew up in a small Canadian town and fell in love with Jay, a boy who is literally the boy-next-door. Mary and Jay decide to get married in 1939, and they spend the first two years of the War travelling across Canada while Jay, who has enlisted, serves as a flying instructor. Eventually, he is sent overseas to fight; Mary is pregnant with their first child when he leaves. Jay dies in combat, as does Mary's brother, Sandy. As she reflects on the War, Mary's narrative does two important things. First, it presents a particular vision of Canada in which Canadians are unified largely by their desire to be unified. Second, it treats the home as the cornerstone of national life, thus making it essential to Canadian identity. Indeed, Allison's short story traces the inter-relationship between the home and the generation of a unified Canadian identity that, with its first-person narration, is designed to represent the common experiences of women over the course of the War.

"Airmail to Heaven" endeavours to unite Canada's regional diversity, as well as human individuality, by insisting on the fundamental sameness that underwrites a national identity; at the essence of unification is the idea that this identity is grounded in a series of like-minded choices made by Canadian citizens. The first of these intertwined ideas plays out in Mary's description of her hometown, which is followed by her description of criss-crossing Canada several times during the War. According to Mary, she and Jay were

> born in the same small town in that south-western tip of Ontario nestled in by Lake Erie, Lake St. Clair, Lake Huron and Georgian Bay. [...] These little towns are all much of a sameness, each one almost a repetition of the one preceding it by some ten or fifteen miles; and I might be any Mary, and Jay any James, from any one of them. (5)

The similarity of these towns is further defined as a mixture of modest but modern homes and small independently-owned businesses, although Mary is also careful to note the grand hotel that dates from an "earlier and more glamorous era" (5). The presence of the hotel serves as a reminder of Canada's past, and its inclusion in Mary's list of the town's qualities serves to unite history with contemporary life, giving the town a feeling of longevity and collective memory. She goes on to say that

> industries are few, though each town will have a Flour Mill and a Lumber Mill. Canneries and sugar refineries and cheese factories are common. Our part is farming country and altogether flat and uninteresting, but any one of these little towns, studied singly, is so fresh and wholesome and sweet in its simple goodness that you who have lived in big, impersonal cities all of your lives would lose your heart to such a place. (6).

Such a description resists the urbanization and industrialization that had begun in Canada before the War and that was rapidly pushed forward by wartime demands. The story thus asserts a set of small-town values—self-sufficiency, independent enterprise, and a sense of community—in opposition to the idea of the "impersonal" city. In this respect "Airmail to Heaven" takes a similar, if less developed, stance to the monopolistic style of capitalism that Leslie Gordon Barnard critiques in his treatment of modern life in Montreal. Allison positions small towns as the source of "simple goodness," creating as she does so an idealized image of the past and present that sets up her part of Canada—Ontario—as a series of small towns united in their simplicity of life.

In this way, "Airmail to Heaven" traces an apparently different set of standards for Canada's future than those set out in "Going Home." Where Reg wishes to re-locate his family from a small town so that his can pursue his profession in the city, Mary, like Clare, treats the small town as an idyllic space that she does not wish to leave. The two stories are not, however, as different as they appear to be, as both stories forge a connection between women and small-town life, with the "fresh and wholesome" values correlating with the symbol of woman as "a repository of the values that must be left at home in the heat of battle" (Plain ix) while the nation is at war. The reluctance of both Clare and Mary to leave this environment suggests their alienation from the processes of urbanization and industrialization that Clare, at least, is pressured to accept. Reg's re-integration into this urban world not only marks a departure in Canada from a more pastoral way of life, but also imparts the masculine privilege of this new way of life. Clare, as discussed earlier, is asked to remove herself from the workplace, and her resistance to doing so threatens the health of her husband in a way that suggests the threatening instability to the post-war world presented by independent women. Mary faces no such pressure, and she is therefore free to remain in the small town and as a part of the way of life that it represents; indeed, the focus of her story is almost entirely on the past, with the future of Canada being hinted at only through her son, whom she intends to raise, with her parents' help, in her home town.

If the story remained situated in this home town, which was set up as generically representative of all small towns in the area, "Airmail to Heaven" could be seen as a construction of regional identity in the place of a national one. Mary, however, goes on to relate her and Jay's travels across the country and back again throughout the War, as the couple worked to meet the demands of Jay's work as a flying instructor. Mary reflects that

> it was wonderfully exciting as we travelled across Canada and back. We were close enough one time to see the Rockies and spend a "48" on our skis. One time we were only a few hours from the Laurentians, so that we were able to spend another "48" on our skis. We saw the Maritimes and the ocean, had barely settled when we turned around directly and travelled so far west we were only a stone's throw from Vancouver and the Pacific. We began to think of ourselves as cosmopolitans, when we discovered one night at dinner in Saskatchewan that we were eating the canned lobster we had purchased only a few weeks before in New Brunswick. Actually, ours was any little domestic scene on wheels. The moment we'd get settled near a station, I'd immediately don a bungalow apron and start planning our shopping list. (25)

This passage raises two important points. First, Mary is able to speak on behalf of the nation because she is familiar with its many regions. Her narrative draws these different regions together in the microcosm of the story in much the same way that *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* did so through their features (discussed in Chapter One) of different areas in Canada. Second, Mary's daily domestic life is identical in every location, a fact that makes regional differences superficial in relation to the overarching gender expectations of women in Canada. In this sense, women shared a two-fold identity as Canadian citizens and wives and mothers, and their unity as wives and mothers was the cornerstone of their commonalities as citizens.

These commonalities extend to the boys and men of Canada as well. Wherever Mary and Jay settle briefly in their travels across Canada, they throw parties for the young men that Jay teaches. At these parties

> there was at least one lad from every Province of Canada. […] It was amazing to see how much alike we all were. When we compared notes, we found that the kid from the grain farm in Alberta thought much like the kid who had lived in Montreal all his life, or St. John, or Toronto, or Sault St. Marie. We discussed everything, though religion and politics were the most frenzied topics, as they usually are anywhere. We decided that the average Canadian was broad-thinking, open-minded, progressive, and that Canada was the greatest nation in the world. Now when I think of Canada, I never think of a flag or government, but I remember that little band of fliers preparing to fight and die for her. And I remember my Jay. Those boys are Canada. (25)

Allison, in effect, offers a succinct definition of Canada in this passage. The parties thrown by Mary and Jay unify Canadian by, quite literally, bringing individuals from the many different regions together in one room and glossing over their differences as superficial. Beyond the definition of a Canadian as "broad-thinking, open-minded, progressive," however, Allison implicitly draws attention to the key element of Canadian identity: choice. The boys in the story do not constitute a disparate group of individuals, but a community that is held together through the desire to sustain and defend a particular way of life. The individuals to whom Allison refers are fighting for Canada by choice, and this choice is the ultimate expression of their national identity. The conflicts over religion and politics that she notes are deemed relatively unimportant in light of this choice, and the story therefore posits that a national identity exists as an agreement made among the nation's citizens to co-operate and work together as a community.

In its grouping together of individuals, the story tends to focus on the minutiae of everyday life, with a particular focus on family structures and the home. The parties that Mary throws, and the "domestic scene on wheels" that she describes signal the primacy of the home to the nation, especially when the nation is threatened by war. In her representation of family life, she clearly defines the expectations of men and women in a manner that takes these definitions for granted as both essential and unchanging over time. In this way, gender roles take on a permanency that lends itself to stability even when Canada was faced with the flux and uncertainty of the war years. To put it simply—and not surprisingly—men were the family breadwinners and defenders of both family and nation, women were the caregivers, and children were the future for whose sake the War was waged.

In keeping with this, Mary's father is a physician who is "not a rich man because the poor still pay their fees with sides of beef or vegetables or fruit or whatever they may have in abundance" (7), although he is still able to send both his son and daughter to college during the Depression. Allison thus sets the father up as a man who is a breadwinner who balances his family's needs with those of his community, and his lack of interest in personal gain maintains the story's emphasis on the choice to contribute to a communal existence that unites individuals. We learn also that he spent "two years in France during World War I [but it] did not leave its mark of gruffness and intolerance on him" (7). Her father, then, is a patriotic defender of the nation who, like the boys Mary welcomes to her home, is broad-thinking, open-minded, and progressive. The other men in the story, Mary's husband Jay, and her brother Sandy, are much like her father. Jay and Sandy are bright, energetic individuals destined for professional careers in law and medicine, respectively, but they give up these futures without a second thought for the sake of protecting the ones they love. In this way, middle-class professions and aspirations continue to be upheld as an ideal way of life in Canada, yet this way of life becomes secondary when the national community is threatened. As Mary puts it, Jay "didn't hate. He loved. That is why he went." (32)

The expectations for women are represented by both Mary and her mother. Mary describes her mother as "an important and necessary figure at every community function, church supper, bazaars, Sunday School picnic, and Home and Club School Tea. Always the gracious diplomat [. . .] she is organized enthusiasm. That is her secret—only giving a small part of herself to the things outside her home and the greater part of herself to being a successful wife and mother" (7). Mary idealizes and tries to emulate her mother, particularly after she has her first child, Jim. These standards for women take on a neo-saintly air, and it is telling that the narrator's name is Mary because she does, in essence, embody the "Madonna in a stained glass window" (Laurence 20) that Helen warns Reg does not exist. In the words of her husband:

> I'll be fighting for you and Young Jim all the way through. You in a cloud of baby powder and Young Jim trying to catch soap bubbles in his bath. You, with the sunlight in your hair, holding him tenderly in your arms and lulling him to sleep. (32)

After learning of her husband's death, Mary adopts an attitude of calm acceptance that abnegates any frustration or despair over her loss. In this way, she remains staunchly patriotic, refusing to give in to hatred or unhappiness because that "would let Hitler win" (32). In this way, Mary's attitude becomes an emotional and moral victory that make her a domestic heroine. At the same time, her attitude suggests a regimented emotional state in which unruly or unpatriotic emotions are denied and only the "right" feelings are permissible. Mary, then, serves as a combined symbol of motherhood and nationhood that was idealized in "Airmail to Heaven."

Placed alongside Clare from "Going Home," the distance between Mary's idealized behaviour and Clare's self-sufficiency and resistance to post-war change becomes more pronounced. Taken together, these two stories map the contradictions in the construction of woman as a social category during the War. Where Mary fits into the unrealistic symbolic role of women, not to mention the traditional expectations placed on wives and mothers, Clare breaks with both the symbolism and the role in a manner that reveals the fissures in these ideas caused by the War. Furthermore, Laurence's story brings up the question of choice that is lauded in "Airmail to Heaven" as the essence of national community in that "Going Home" suggests that these choices do not necessarily treat all members of the community fairly, and that pressure to conform to social standards effectively reduces how much "choice" women actually had.

With its focus on remembering the past, "Airmail to Heaven" serves as a fictitious memorial that Mary dedicates to the men who died in the War. As Mary explains near the end of the story:

> It is not likely you would recall them [Jay and Sandy] specially, one out of all the multitude who went before and who have gone since. You would not remember because fundamentally they are all the same. Clean, scrubbed-looking kids with smiling eyes and lop-sided grins. They didn't win any decorations. They weren't mentioned in any dispatches. They just died, but they died gloriously. This is a tribute to them. (32)

The story does not end with these words, however, but with her description of her son's various activities and the delight she takes in watching him grow up. In shifting the focus of her narrative onto the child, she shifts it towards the future symbolized by children. The story thus negotiates the events of the War in a manner that is designed to bring imaginative closure to these events. It then goes on to hint at the happiness of the post-war future that victory has secured. Notably, this future relies on traditional gender roles being maintained, a fact that is prefigured by the image of Young Jim "measuring his baby feet in his father's hockey skates" (32) shortly after Mary reflects that she has the help of her parents and community in raising her son. The idea of community is, then, asserted once again. In this instance, Mary's community will work together and, in doing so, be brought together in creating the future of Canada that Young Jim represents.

"Airmail to Heaven" unites Canada within the context of the home. This unification glosses over differences and insists on the similarities between people from vastly different regions. Moreover, the story offers a succinct summary of the Canadian state of mind: broad-thinking, open-minded, and progressive. This summary was presented as the Canada for which the "boys" being trained to fly were willing to die. Importantly, their choice to do so is the foundation of national identity: the citizens of Canada are shown to agree on the nature of their identity and, furthermore, to be united as a far-reaching community that has reached a consensus over its values and way of life. Small-town Canada, with its nuclear families and rigidly defined gender roles, is central to this way of life, with women like Mary occupying a symbolic role as the repository of values and memory. Women are also positioned as the protectors of the future in their role as mothers. Allison's narrative reveals an unrealistic and even gruelling set of standards for Canada' female citizens in its projection of an idyllic nation that is fostered primarily in the domestic realm. In this way, "Airmail to Heaven" offers insight into the ways in which fiction did the work of imagining both the War and the model behaviour of women in their construction of a model nation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed the context for fiction that was created by the articles, advertisements, and illustrations that appeared in *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal* during the Second World War. The content of both magazines was concentrated entirely on the war effort, thus showing us the ways in which nationalist rhetoric was directed at a female audience. As such, the magazines contribute to our understanding of the often conflicting expectations and demands that the nation made of women. The fiction of the early to mid-war years, for example, pursues highly idealized attitudes towards the War. Stories like Matt Armstrong's "Soldier" encourage patriotism despite the awareness of the state's failings during the Depression. In fact, enlistment becomes a way for men to win back the dignity they lost as failed breadwinners in the 1930s. In its treatment of women, "Soldier" reveals the ways in which women were positioned as the symbol of the nation's values, history, and (vulnerable) future. As the war years went by, the fiction moved away from stories about recruitment. Jenethea York's "Lady Going West," for instance, imagined Canadian soldiers overseas, yet its focus is far removed from the demands of the War. Instead, it deals with a romance between an English lady and a Canadian man that unfolds in the peaceful English countryside. The story is thereby able to meet a two-fold need to acknowledge the War on one hand, and to provide an escape from it on the other. The story also takes a humorous look at imperial ignorance about Canada, and positions the Dominion as a land of progress that is set to supersede England's former superiority. In doing so, "Lady Going West" imagines professional, urban, middle-class life as the ideal, yet readily attainable, Canadian lifestyle.

From 1944 to 1945, the fiction aligned itself with concerns over the post-war status of women. Some short stories, such as Elsie Fry Laurence's "Going Home" explored the fissures in traditional gender expectations that were caused by the War, but ultimately sided on the re-assertion of the pre-war status of women for the sake of creating national stability. "Airmail to Heaven," by Anne Allison, presents a fictitious rendering of one woman's experiences during the War from beginning to end that staunchly upholds traditional gender expectations for both men and women. Canadian identity, for its part, emerges at the end of the War as progressive and posed to embrace modern industrial development, with this development relying on decidedly un-progressive and restrictive gender divisions. These divisions were necessary, the fiction suggests, because men were needed to literally rebuild the nation, while women were needed in the home to build the future through raising their children.

Chatelaine and the *Canadian Home Journal*, then, catalogue women's wartime activities, articulate nationalistic rhetoric, and expose the contradictions around the construction of femininity as it took place in the context of the Second World War. Taken together, the non-fiction and fiction contents of the magazines reveal the idealization of Canada; in particular, the fiction imagined nationalism as an intensely personal emotion that was centered on the idealization of women, the family, and the home, thus removing nationalistic demands from the realm of abstraction and eliding the violence and destruction of the War. The magazines' fiction continued to deal primarily with the themes of love and romance, thus denying the effects of this violence on both men and women while at the same time presenting a vision of Canada that was progressive, modern, and—once victory was achieved—stable and peaceful. At the close of the War, short stories sometimes explored tensions surrounding the post-war role of women, but these explorations inevitably discouraged women from imagining themselves as full participants in the progressive, modern nation that the stories envisioned. In this way, the fiction published in the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* yoked together nationalism and restrictive gender roles in its construction of an ideal Canadian identity.

Conclusion

The production and reception of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*, as well as the representations of nationhood circulated in the magazines' fiction, were deeply engaged in the construction of Canadian identity. This engagement distinguished the periodicals from their American competitors while simultaneously involving them in nation-building. In turn, the magazines' ongoing discussion of the role of women within the nation, which appeared in conjunction with women's own articulations of their lives as readers, map the tensions surrounding women's agency and the restrictive gender expectations of the era. As a result, *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal* illuminate the complexities of how Canada's national identity was negotiated by publishers, editors, authors, advertisers, and readers, as well as the nature of that identity as it took shape through popular print.

As the fiction from the end of the War suggests, the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Chatelaine* anticipated the post-war era and were ready to adapt themselves to the changing needs and interests of their readers. The need for such adaptation called for new editors; accordingly, Catherine Wilma Tait left the *Journal* in 1947, while Byrne Hope Sanders departed from *Chatelaine* at the end of 1951. Tait was replaced by Mary Etta MacPherson, who had co-edited *Chatelaine* during the War. Macpherson maintained the heavily domestic focus of the magazine and, in keeping with Canada's post-war baby boom, the *Journal* devoted a large proportion of its articles in the late 1940s and early 1950s to discussions of pregnancy and childcare. Macpherson also brought in a letters-to-the-editor page called "From Our Mail Bag" and began publishing upbeat editorials that were similar to the ones she had published with *Chatelaine*. In this way, the *Journal* adopted some of *Chatelaine*'s reader-centric, editorially-gregarious practices, making the post-war *Journal* similar to the pre-war *Chatelaine*. In contrast, the post-war *Chatelaine* re-invented itself as a politically engaged, even volatile, periodical that was organized around second-wave feminism. This difference suggests the defining difference in the readerships of the magazines in the post-war years, with the *Journal* attracting more conservative readers who were interested in maintaining the traditional status of women as wives and mothers, while *Chatelaine* attracted readers who resisted this status and sought greater gender equality.

The changes to *Chatelaine* did not happen immediately. After Sanders' departure, *Chatelaine* went through a series of editors. Initially, Lotta Dempsey, a free-lance writer who was a regular contributor to *Chatelaine*, was appointed to the editorship. According to Valerie Korinek, Dempsey was a "reluctant conscript" (44) to the post of editor, and she left *Chatelaine* in 1953 because she disliked the administrative side of the magazine and preferred to work as a writer in a newspaper environment (44). She was replaced by John Clare, who had been on the staff at *Maclean*'s. According to his successor, Clare hated his time at *Chatelaine* and was only too happy to return to *Maclean's* in 1957 (Korinek 45). His successor was Doris Anderson, who took over *Chatelaine* in 1957 and remained its editor until her voluntary retirement in 1977. Under Clare, *Chatelaine*'s profits began dropping, and the trend was not reversed until 1958 (Korinek 268). Two key events happened at this time: first, *Chatelaine* merged with the *Journal* and, second, Anderson re-oriented the magazine towards second-wave feminism.[21] The merger of *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* helped expand *Chatelaine*'s circulation while simultaneously cutting out Canadian competition, as *Chatelaine* became the only Canadian women's mass-market magazine. At the same time, *Chatelaine*'s newly-adopted feminist slant attracted new readers throughout the late 1950s and into the 1960s. In addition to exploring questions of gender equality, *Chatelaine* published articles on race and class politics under Anderson's direction. Canadian nationalism, according to Korinek, remained important to the magazine (107, 262). While Korinek does not explore the construction of Canadian identity in itself, the importance of nationalism to *Chatelaine* during the late 1950s and 1960s suggests that *Chatelaine*'s new editorial focus shifted Canadian identity away from an exclusively white, middle-class construction and towards a more inclusive and progressive identity that was underwritten by issues of social equality and the national reform of women's status in Canada.

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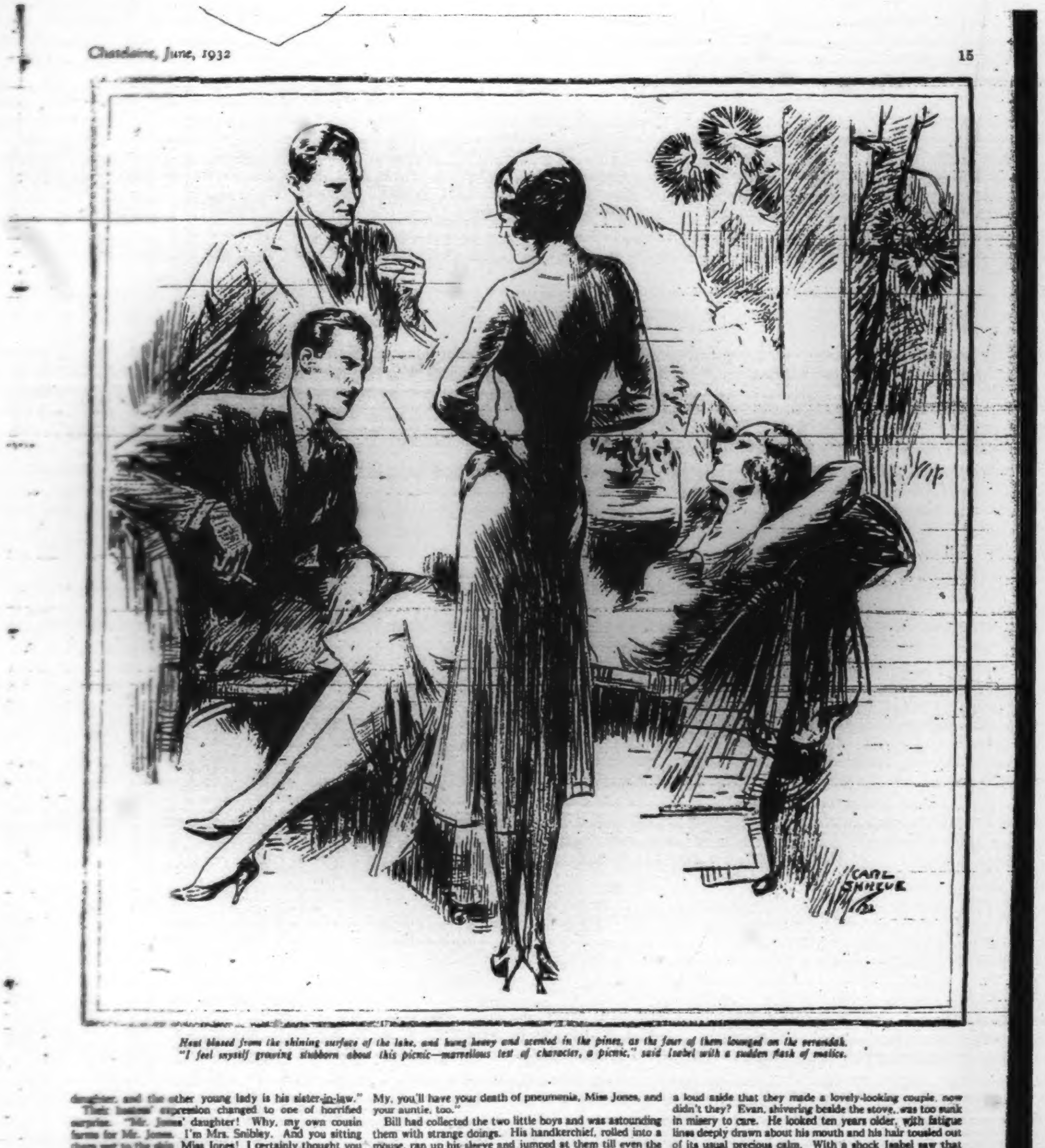
[21] The *Journal*, for its part, did well in the Canadian marketplace in the fifties, but its new owner as of 1952, Jack Kent Cooke, was dissatisfied with its profits. A Canadian-born business mogul who would go on to adopt American citizenship in 1960, own the Los Angeles Lakers basketball team and the Los Angeles Kings hockey team, and accumulate a personal estate worth eight-hundred-and-twenty-five million dollars (in U.S. funds) at his death in 1997, Cooke quickly realized that Canadian magazine publishing was not the place to make the kind of money that he was interested in making. Accordingly, he sold the *Journal* to the Maclean Publishing Company in 1958.

This transition suggests one of many possibilities for further research—the exploration of the role that *Chatelaine* played in constructing Canadian identity in the post-war era. Such study could provide insight into the identity politics as they unfolded in the post-war years. While mass culture may have been vilified as un-Canadian after the Second World War (Litt 106, Berland 21), the sustained attention *Chatelaine* received from readers suggests its importance to understanding the popular circulation of national identity. Placed in the context of the "high literature" of the era, research on *Chatelaine* has potential to alter our understanding of national identity and its relationship with print culture. Such an understanding is not necessarily limited to Canadian print culture. As noted in the Introduction, many studies of mass-market magazines, such as Ellen Gruber Garvey's *The Adman in the Parlor,* Helen Damon-Moore's *Magazines for the Millions*, or Richard Ohmann's *Selling Culture*, examine the influence of mass-market magazines on class and gender politics in the United States. These studies take the American nation as the backdrop for their work without fully exploring the nature of American identity in and of itself. How were American authors presented to readers? Did the fiction in American mass-market magazines make use of setting and current events in the ways that Canadian magazines did? Did the magazines print articles on the political responsibilities of their readers? Did the advertising employ nationalism as a marketing strategy? "Model Nation" is set up, in part, as a model for the exploration of such questions regarding not only the mass-market magazines of the United States, but also the popular print of other nations.

Another possibility for future work includes a re-reading of the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* during the Depression and the Second World War that attends to what is absent from the magazines. This approach would add a new texture to the construction of

Canadian identity to the one I have examined here. As this project is the first in-depth study of both the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* during the 1930s and 1940s, I believed that it was crucial to account primarily for what was present in the magazines. For this reason, my focus has been on the identity that was privileged by the magazines—the Canadian woman as middle-class, white, and English-speaking—in order to understand how and why this identity was circulated as both a mainstream, and a heavily idealized, identity. At the same time, this study is the first to explore the place of nationalism in women's mass-market magazines, making it both necessary and important to map the ways in which nationalism defined both the contents and circulation of the periodicals. As a result, "Model Nation" considers the ways in which national identity was negotiated through both the fiction and non-fiction content of the periodicals as it was produced by editors, advertisers, and authors and subsequently received by readers who could accept, ignore, or contest the messages about Canada with which they were presented. In contrast, a negative reading of the magazines—one that inquires into what is excluded from the Canadian identity circulated in the *Journal* and *Chatelaine*—has the potential to explore racial tensions, class disparities, and gender politics. Indeed, the independence and creativity of the magazines' largely female editorial collectives in themselves constitute a point of resistance to the domestic femininity that the contents of the magazines present. How can this contradiction between the magazines' producers and the identity produced by the magazines be understood? What were the career possibilities for women writers and editors in Canadian journalism and publishing more generally? In a different vein, what might a comparison of the mass-market periodical press to more localized small presses, such as the Japanese-language newspapers in Vancouver that were shut down during the Second World War, tell us about racial divisions in Canada? The exploration of such questions would fill out our knowledge of not only Canada's literary history, but also provide a means of further understanding the mono-cultural Canadian identity evinced by *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* during the 1930s and 1940s.

A more in-depth study of authorship and fiction in the *Journal* and *Chatelaine* offers a third possibility for future work. In this project, I aimed to balance authors who were treated as important literary figures (authors such as Mazo de la Roche, Leslie Gordon Barnard, and Louis Arthur Cunningham) with authors who were, and remain, relative unknowns (authors such as Eva L. Bruce, F. Marjorie Jordan, or Anne Allison). Notably, authors like Barnard and Cunningham made a living through writing in an era when it was notoriously difficult to do so, making the inclusion of their work in Canada's literary history an important part of understanding authorship and the production of literature. Gwendolyn Davies' recent work on Louis Authur Cunningham, which makes use of the extensive Louis Arthur Cunningham papers at the University of New Brunswick, suggests a growing interest in such commercially successful Canadian authors. Other archives, such as McGill University's holdings of Leslie Gordon Barnard's manuscripts and letters, offer another means of studying Canadian writing as it was practiced in the 1930s and 1940s. On the other hand, the a further exploration of authors who were not particularly prolific, and who are not well-known today, provide a means of understanding the entry of Canadian women whose focus was largely on their homes and families into the literary marketplace as these women wrote for *Chatelaine* and the *Journal*. What style of fiction did these writers employ? How did their use of setting and character—such as Eva L. Bruce's treatment of "Coal Town"—communicate different points of view on life in Canada? How did they articulate their navigation of traditional responsibilities and their forays into print culture? *Chatelaine* and the *Journal* helped sustain authors during the Depression and the Second World War, and the body of fiction contained within the magazines during this period is extensive. "Model Nation" provides an introduction to this fiction and explores its key qualities (including nationalism and its representation of contemporary social issues) and has thereby set up a foundation for future research.



Chatelaine, June, 1932 15

Heat blazed from the shining surface of the lake, and hung heavy and scented in the pines, as the four of them lounged on the verandah. "I feel myself growing stubborn about this picnic—marvellous test of character, a picnic," said Isabel with a sudden flash of malice.

daughter, and the other young lady is his sister-in-law."

Their hostess' expression changed to one of horrified surprise. "Mr. Jones' daughter! Why, my own cousin farms for Mr. Jones. I'm Mrs. Snibley. And you sitting there wet to the skin, Miss Jones! I certainly thought you was just crazy trippers. The kids says, 'Maw, some folks want to leave a big car in the yard,' and I thought, 'Crazy trippers! They'll get it'."

"We did," said Bill. "What a storm! Must be two feet of mud on the roads right now."

"My land, I bet there is. You'll hafta stay all night. We can manage fine, if you gentlemen don't mind sleepin' in the boys' room. They can double up and I'll take the baby in with me. Ee-laine, go fix the spare-room bed right away, so the ladies can get right in with a hot bottle to each of 'em. My, you'll have your death of pneumonia, Miss Jones, and your auntie, too."

Bill had collected the two little boys and was astounding them with strange doings. His handkerchief, rolled into a mouse, ran up his sleeve and jumped at them till even the little terrier snarled with excitement. When he put a lighted cigarette into his ear, volumes of smoke issued mysteriously from his nose and mouth. He produced two magic dimes that were forever being lost and recovered from the oddest places until finally they found their way into the boys' trouser pockets. Bill advised them solemnly to go to bed at once, before the money vanished again, and they departed in haste.

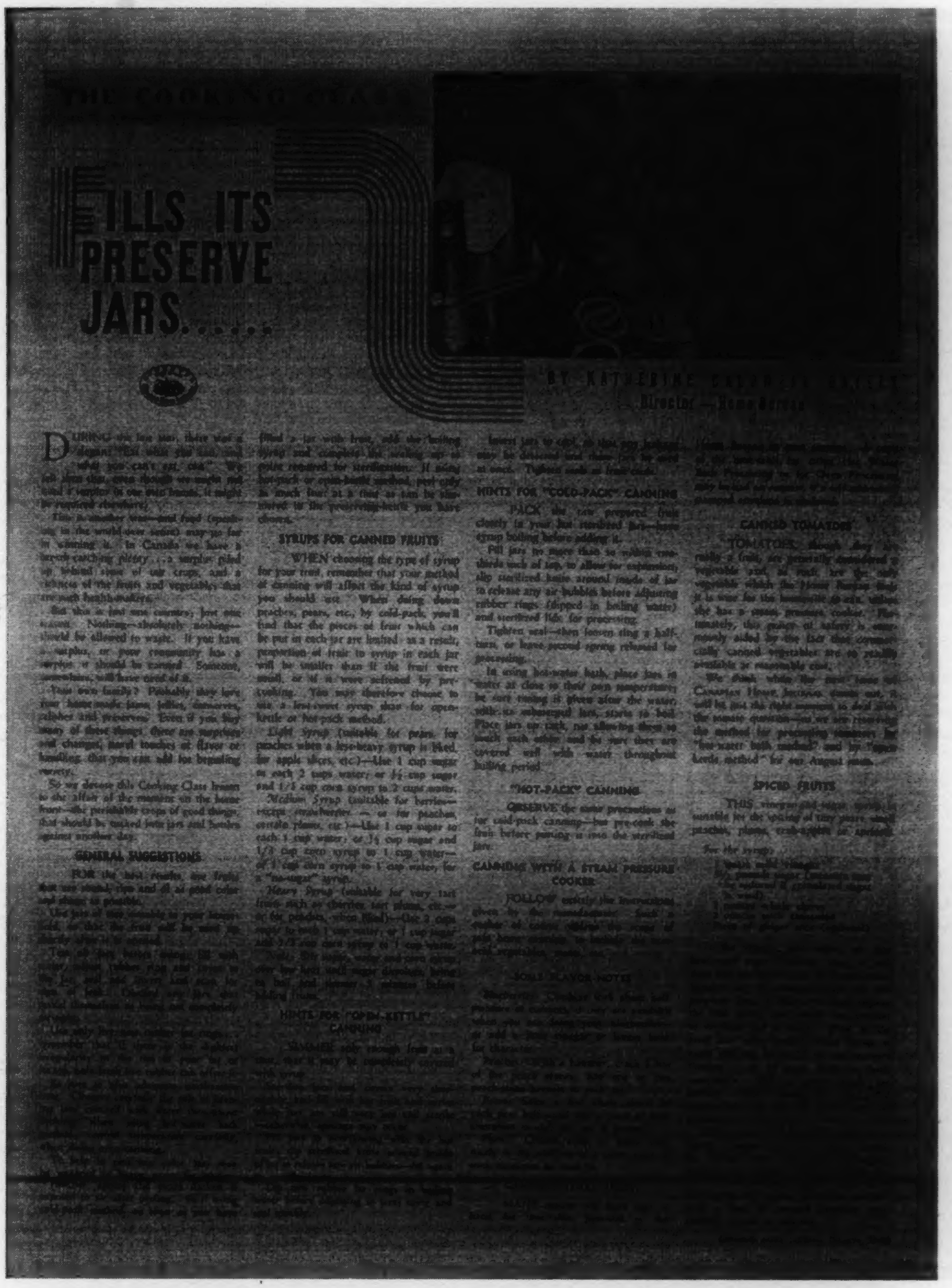
Amy had laughed with the astonished children till the tears came. Mrs. Snibley was enchanted. She told Isabel in a loud aside that they made a lovely-looking couple, now didn't they? Evan, shivering beside the stove, was too sunk in misery to care. He looked ten years older, with fatigue lines deeply drawn about his mouth and his hair tousled out of its usual precious calm. With a shock Isabel saw that there was a broad white wing above his temple. How haggard and awful she must look herself! Every bone in her body was aching gently and she longed for bed. Bill and Amy, young and resilient and giggling, were oblivious of their more elderly exhaustion. She felt a rush of sympathy for poor Evan.

The storm was abating. The wind howled less furiously in the maples; the thunder was steadily retreating, and Bill succeeded in getting a call through to the house over disorganized rural lines. When he

[*Continued on page 84*]

Figure 1: "Trial by Thunder" by Melanie Benet (*Chatelaine* June 1932: 15)

Figure 2: "Light Was Her Laughter" (*Canadian Home Journal* Aug. 1940: 14-15)



THE COOKING CLASS

FILLS ITS PRESERVE JARS......

Director — Home Bureau

SYRUPS FOR CANNED FRUITS

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

HINTS FOR "OPEN-KETTLE" CANNING

HINTS FOR "COLD-PACK" CANNING

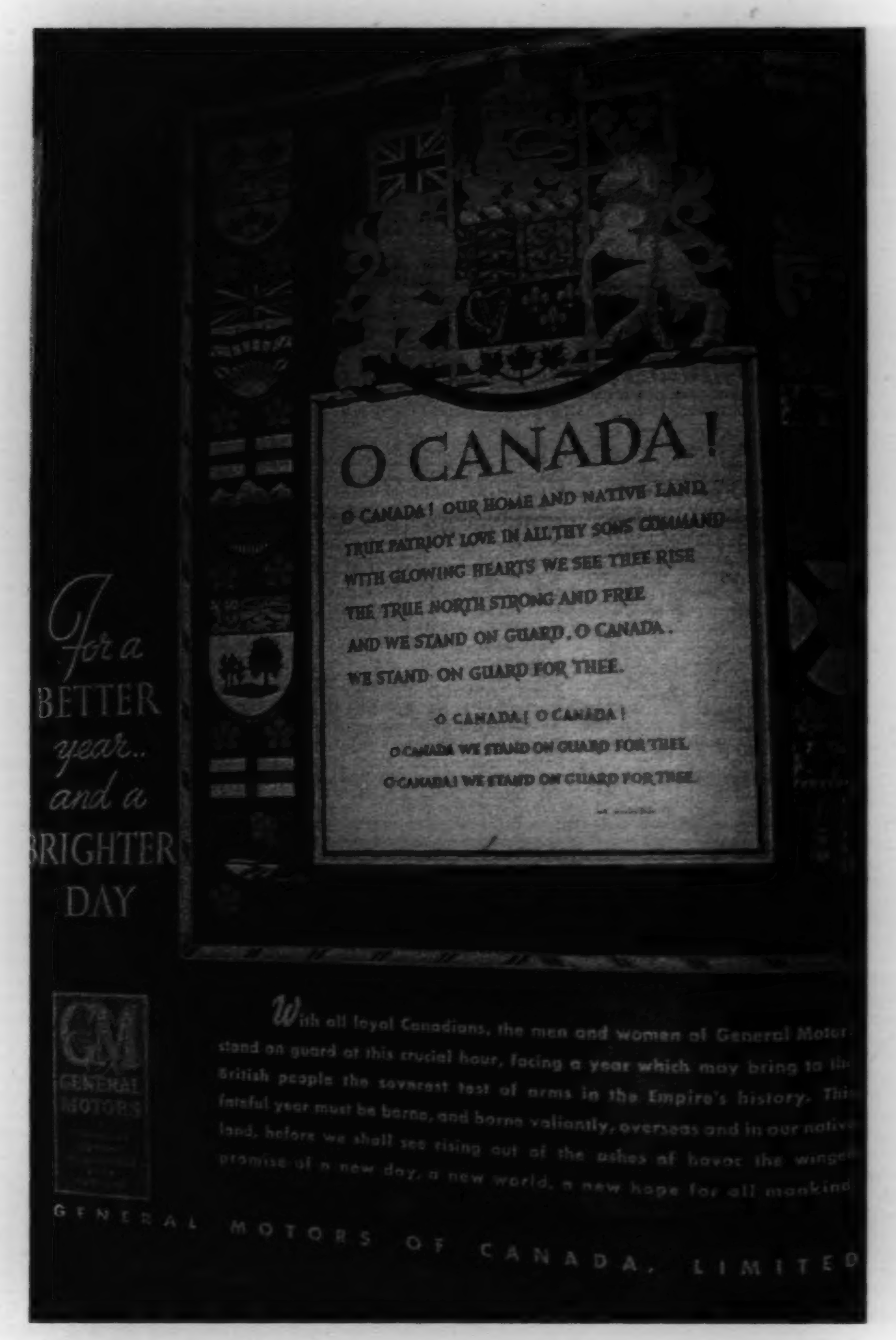
"HOT-PACK" CANNING

CANNING WITH A STEAM PRESSURE COOKER

CANNED TOMATOES

SPICED FRUITS

Figure 3: “The Cooking Class” (*Canadian Home Journal* Aug. 1940: 31)



O CANADA!

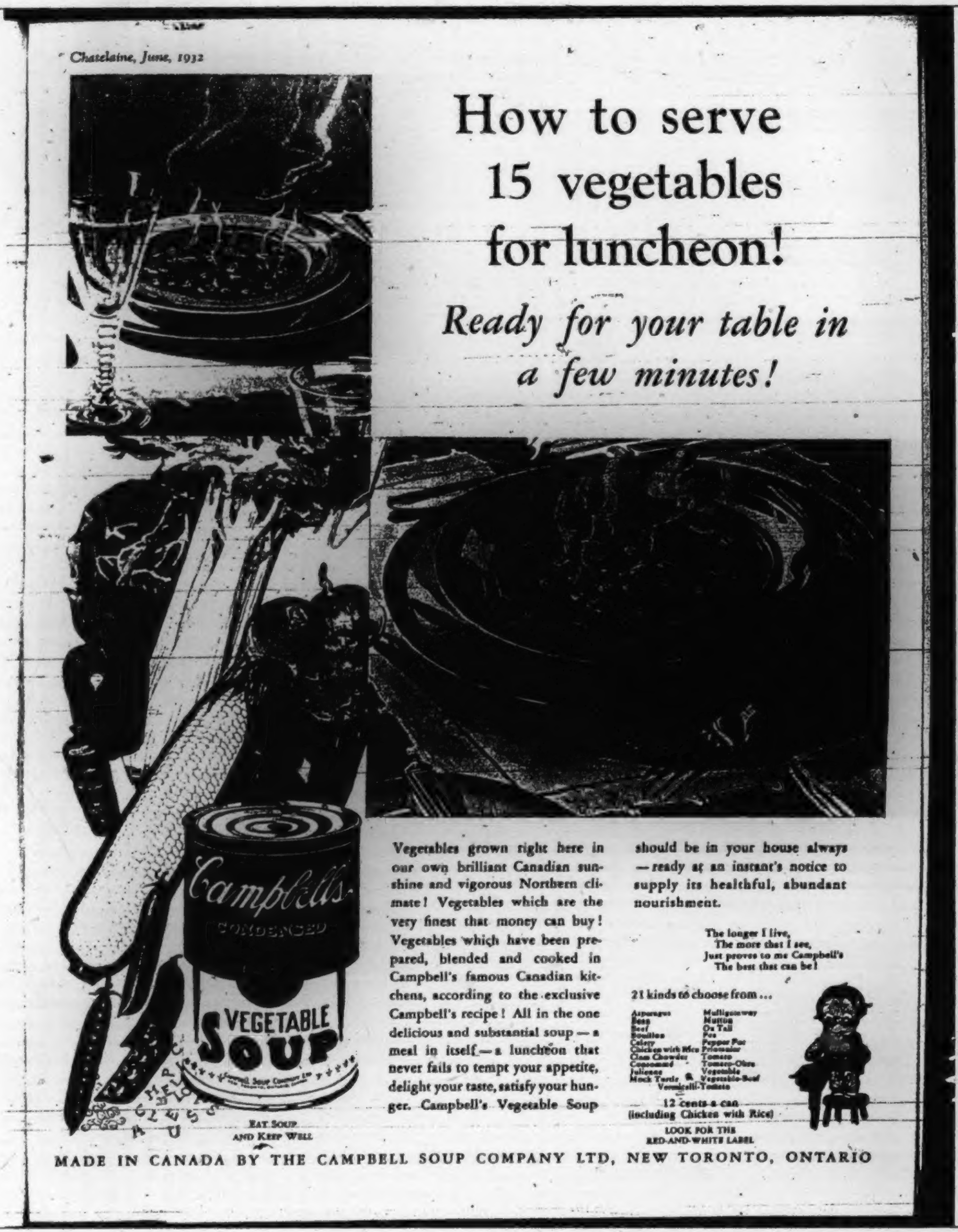
O CANADA! OUR HOME AND NATIVE LAND
TRUE PATRIOT LOVE IN ALL THY SONS COMMAND
WITH GLOWING HEARTS WE SEE THEE RISE
THE TRUE NORTH STRONG AND FREE
AND WE STAND ON GUARD, O CANADA.
WE STAND ON GUARD FOR THEE.

O CANADA! O CANADA!
O CANADA WE STAND ON GUARD FOR THEE.
O CANADA! WE STAND ON GUARD FOR THEE.

With all loyal Canadians, the men and women of General Motor stand on guard at this crucial hour, facing a year which may bring to th British people the severest test of arms in the Empire's history. Thi fateful year must be borne, and borne valiantly, overseas and in our native land, before we shall see rising out of the ashes of havoc the winge promise of a new day, a new world, a new hope for all mankind.

GENERAL MOTORS OF CANADA, LIMITED

Figure 4: General Motors Ad (*Canadian Home Journal* March 1942: back cover)


Campbell's
CONDENSED
VEGETABLE
SOUP
EAT SOUP
AND KEEP WELL

Chatelaine, June, 1932

How to serve
15 vegetables
for luncheon!

Ready for your table in
a few minutes!

Vegetables grown right here in our own brilliant Canadian sunshine and vigorous Northern climate! Vegetables which are the very finest that money can buy! Vegetables which have been prepared, blended and cooked in Campbell's famous Canadian kitchens, according to the exclusive Campbell's recipe! All in the one delicious and substantial soup — a meal in itself — a luncheon that never fails to tempt your appetite, delight your taste, satisfy your hunger. Campbell's Vegetable Soup should be in your house always — ready at an instant's notice to supply its healthful, abundant nourishment.

The longer I live,
The more that I see,
Just proves to me Campbell's
The best that can be!

21 kinds to choose from ...

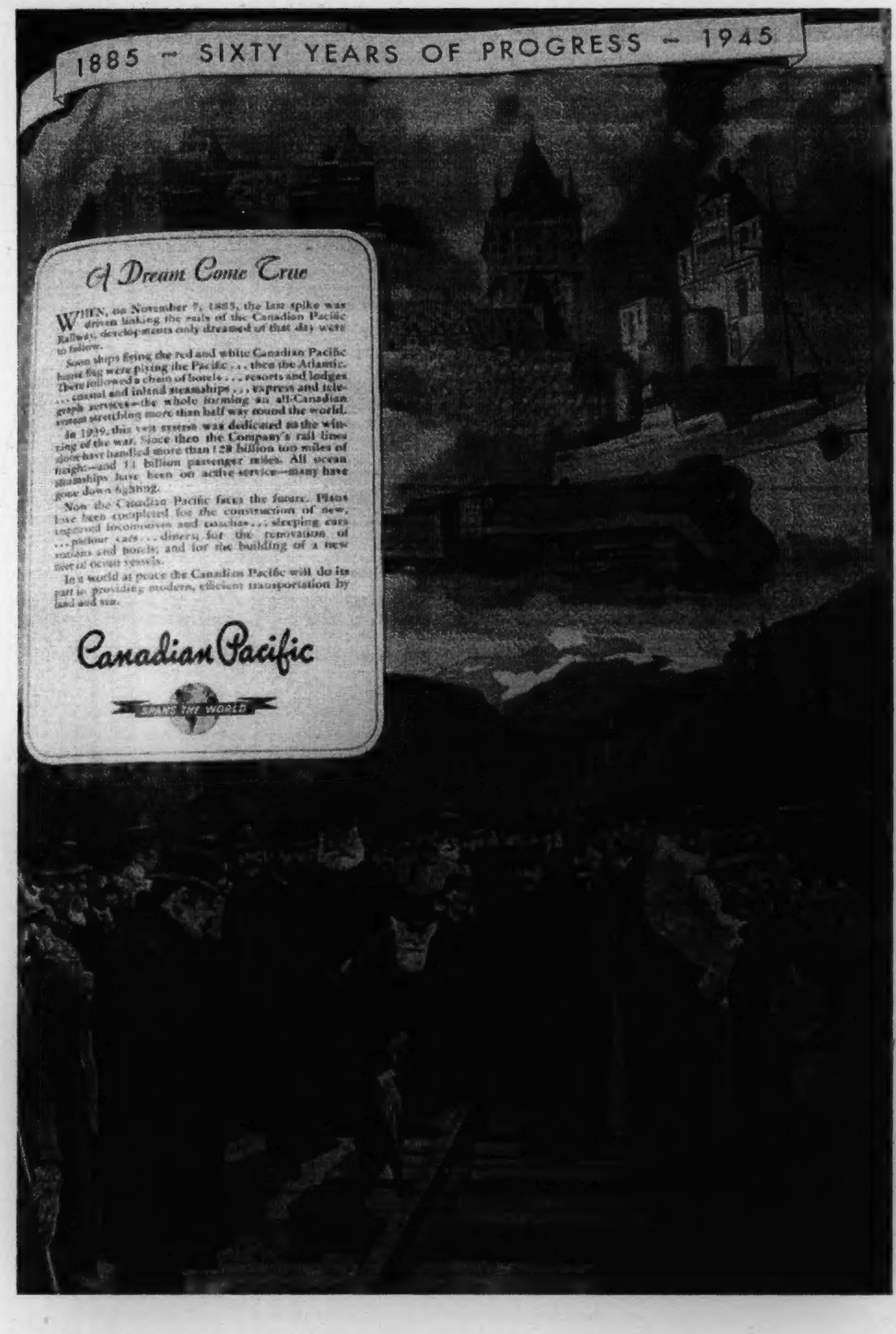
Asparagus
Bean
Beef
Bouillon
Celery
Chicken with Rice
Clam Chowder
Consommé
Julienne
Mock Turtle
Mulligatawny
Mutton
Ox Tail
Pea
Pepper Pot
Printanier
Tomato
Tomato-Okra
Vegetable
Vegetable-Beef
Vermicelli-Tomato

12 cents a can
(including Chicken with Rice)

LOOK FOR THE
RED-AND-WHITE LABEL

MADE IN CANADA BY THE CAMPBELL SOUP COMPANY LTD, NEW TORONTO, ONTARIO

Figure 5: Campbell's Soup Ad (*Chatelaine* June 1932: 23)



1885 – SIXTY YEARS OF PROGRESS – 1945

A Dream Come True

WHEN, on November 7, 1885, the last spike was driven linking the rails of the Canadian Pacific Railway, developments only dreamed of that day were to follow.

Soon ships flying the red and white Canadian Pacific house flag were plying the Pacific . . . then the Atlantic. There followed a chain of hotels . . . resorts and lodges . . . coastal and inland steamships . . . express and telegraph services—the whole forming an all-Canadian system stretching more than half way round the world.

In 1939, this vast system was dedicated to the winning of the war. Since then the Company's rail lines alone have handled more than 128 billion ton miles of freight—and 11 billion passenger miles. All ocean steamships have been on active service—many have gone down fighting.

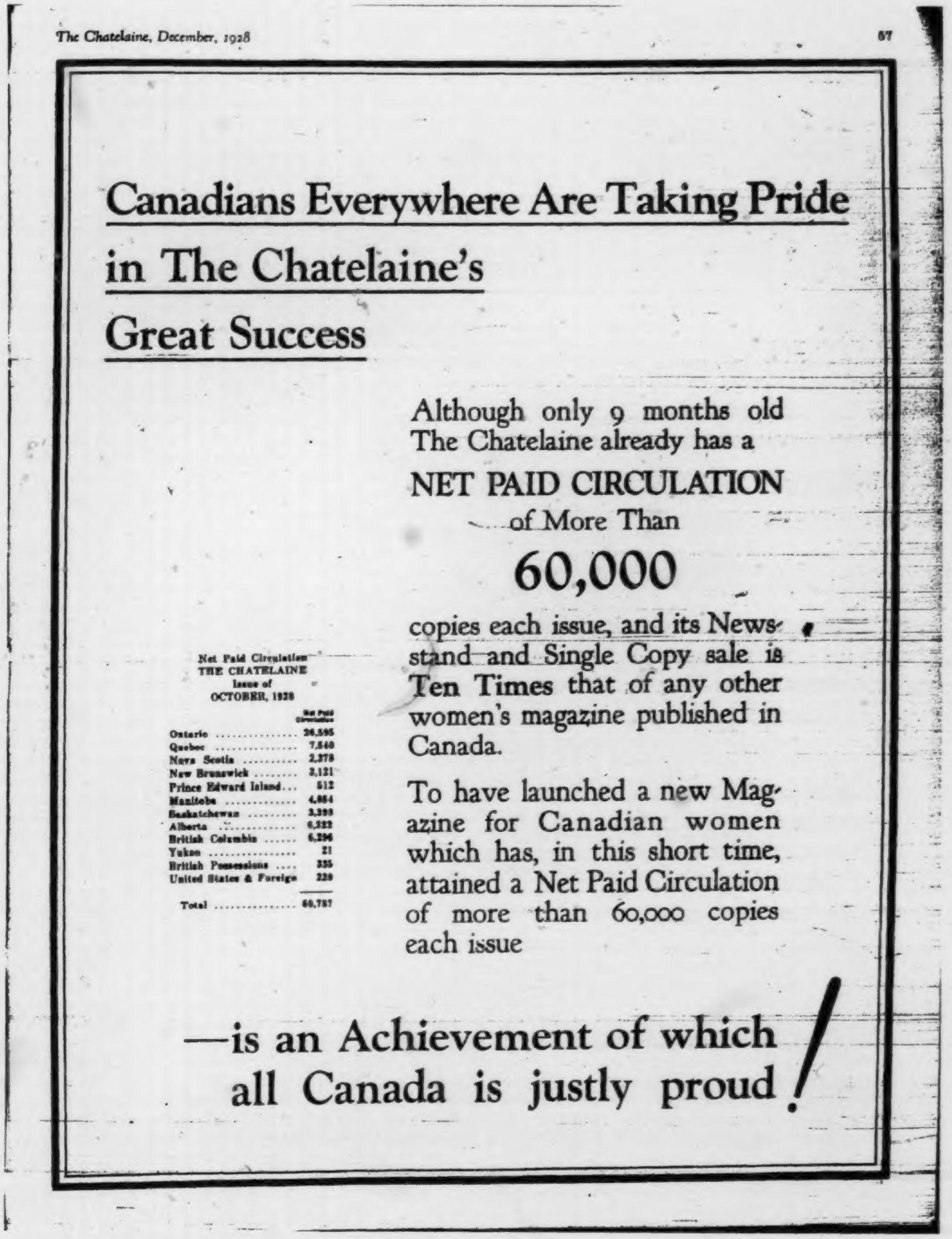
Now the Canadian Pacific faces the future. Plans have been completed for the construction of new, improved locomotives and coaches . . . sleeping cars . . . parlour cars . . . diners; for the renovation of stations and hotels; and for the building of a new fleet of ocean vessels.

In a world at peace the Canadian Pacific will do its part in providing modern, efficient transportation by land and sea.

Canadian Pacific

SPANS THE WORLD

Figure 6: Canadian Pacific Ad (*Canadian Home Journal* Nov. 1945: 61)



The Chatelaine, December, 1928 57

Canadians Everywhere Are Taking Pride in The Chatelaine's Great Success

Although only 9 months old The Chatelaine already has a

NET PAID CIRCULATION

of More Than

60,000

copies each issue, and its Newsstand and Single Copy sale is Ten Times that of any other women's magazine published in Canada.

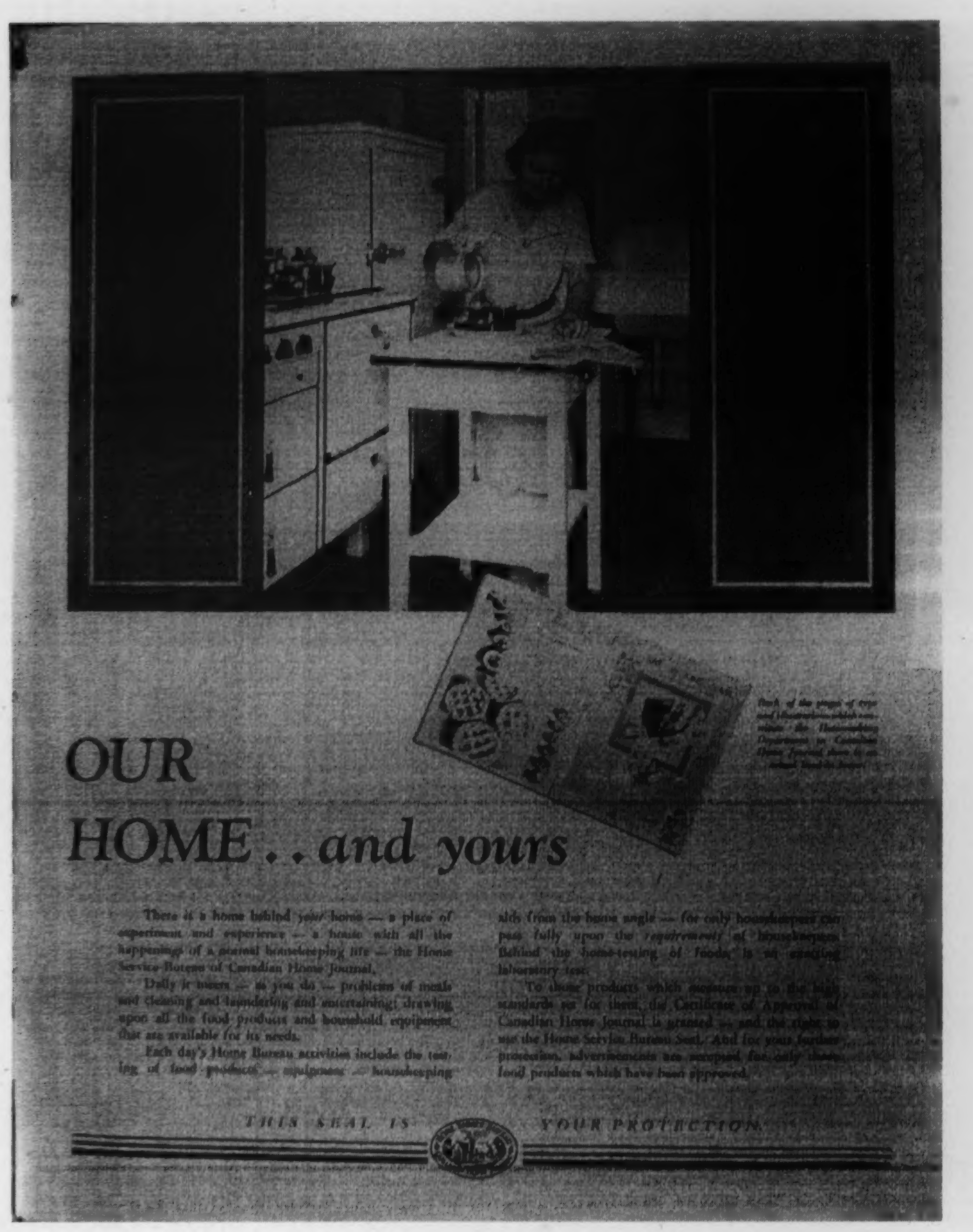
To have launched a new Magazine for Canadian women which has, in this short time, attained a Net Paid Circulation of more than 60,000 copies each issue

—is an Achievement of which all Canada is justly proud!

Net Paid Circulation
THE CHATELAINE
Issue of
OCTOBER, 1928

	Net Paid Circulation
Ontario	26,595
Quebec	7,540
Nova Scotia	2,378
New Brunswick	2,121
Prince Edward Island	512
Manitoba	4,084
Saskatchewan	3,398
Alberta	6,322
British Columbia	6,296
Yukon	21
British Possessions	335
United States & Foreign	220
Total	60,787

Figure 7: Circulation Ad (*Chatelaine* Dec. 1928: 57)



OUR

HOME . . *and yours*

There is a home behind *your* home — a place of experiment and experience — a house with all the happenings of a normal housekeeping life — the Home Service Bureau of Canadian Home Journal.

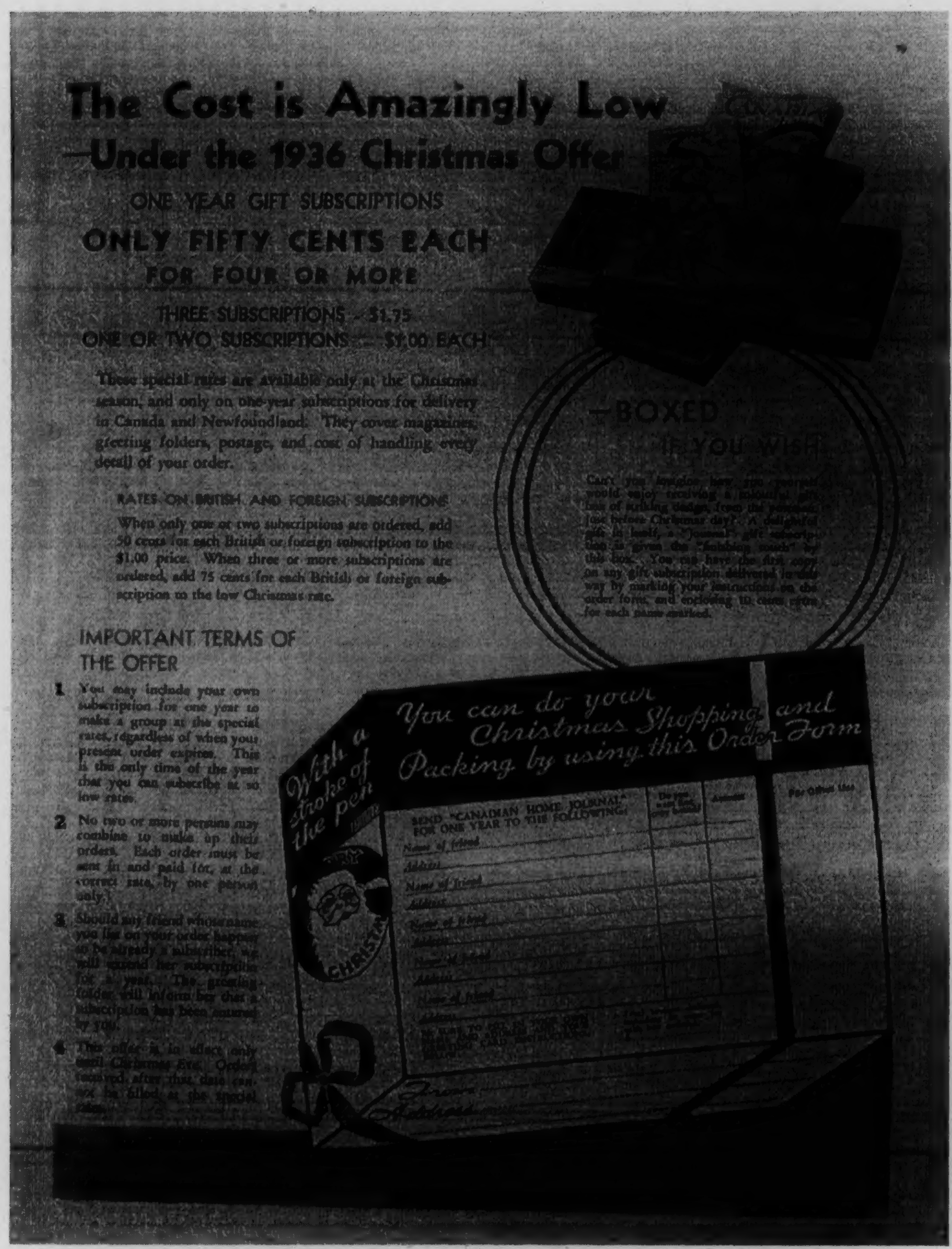
Daily it meets — as you do — problems of meals and cleaning and laundering and entertaining; drawing upon all the food products and household equipment that are available for its needs.

Each day's Home Bureau activities include the testing of food products — equipment — housekeeping aids from the home angle — for only housekeepers can pass fully upon the *requirements* of housekeepers. Behind the home-testing of foods is an exacting laboratory test.

To those products which measure up to the high standards set for them, the Certificate of Approval of Canadian Home Journal is granted — and the right to use the Home Service Bureau Seal. And for your further protection, advertisements are accepted for only those food products which have been approved.

THIS SEAL IS YOUR PROTECTION.

Figure 8: "Our Home … and yours" (*Canadian Home Journal* Jan. 1935: inside back cover)



The Cost is Amazingly Low
—Under the 1936 Christmas Offer

ONE YEAR GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS

ONLY FIFTY CENTS EACH
FOR FOUR OR MORE

THREE SUBSCRIPTIONS - $1.75
ONE OR TWO SUBSCRIPTIONS — $1.00 EACH

These special rates are available only at the Christmas season, and only on one-year subscriptions for delivery in Canada and Newfoundland. They cover magazines, greeting folders, postage, and cost of handling every detail of your order.

RATES ON BRITISH AND FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS

When only one or two subscriptions are ordered, add 50 cents for each British or foreign subscription to the $1.00 price. When three or more subscriptions are ordered, add 75 cents for each British or foreign subscription to the low Christmas rate.

IMPORTANT TERMS OF THE OFFER

1 You may include your own subscription for one year to make a group at the special rates, regardless of when your present order expires. This is the only time of the year that you can subscribe at so low rates.

2 No two or more persons may combine to make up their orders. Each order must be sent in and paid for, at the correct rate, by one person only.

3 Should any friend whose name you list on your order happen to be already a subscriber, we will extend her subscription for a year. The greeting folder will inform her that a subscription has been entered by you.

4 This offer is in effect only until Christmas Eve. Orders received after that date cannot be filled at the special rates.

—BOXED
IF YOU WISH

Can't you imagine how [illegible] would enjoy receiving a colourful gift box of striking design, from the postman just before Christmas day? A delightful gift in itself, a "Journal" gift subscription is given the "finishing touch" by this box. You can have the first copy on any gift subscription delivered in this way by marking your instructions on the order form, and enclosing 10 cents extra for each name marked.

With a stroke of the pen
You can do your Christmas Shopping and Packing by using this Order Form
SEND "CANADIAN HOME JOURNAL" FOR ONE YEAR TO THE FOLLOWING:
Name of friend
Address
Name of friend
Address
Amount
For Office Use
CHRISTMAS
From
Address

Figure 9: Gift Subscriptions Ad (*Canadian Home Journal* Nov. 1936: 79)

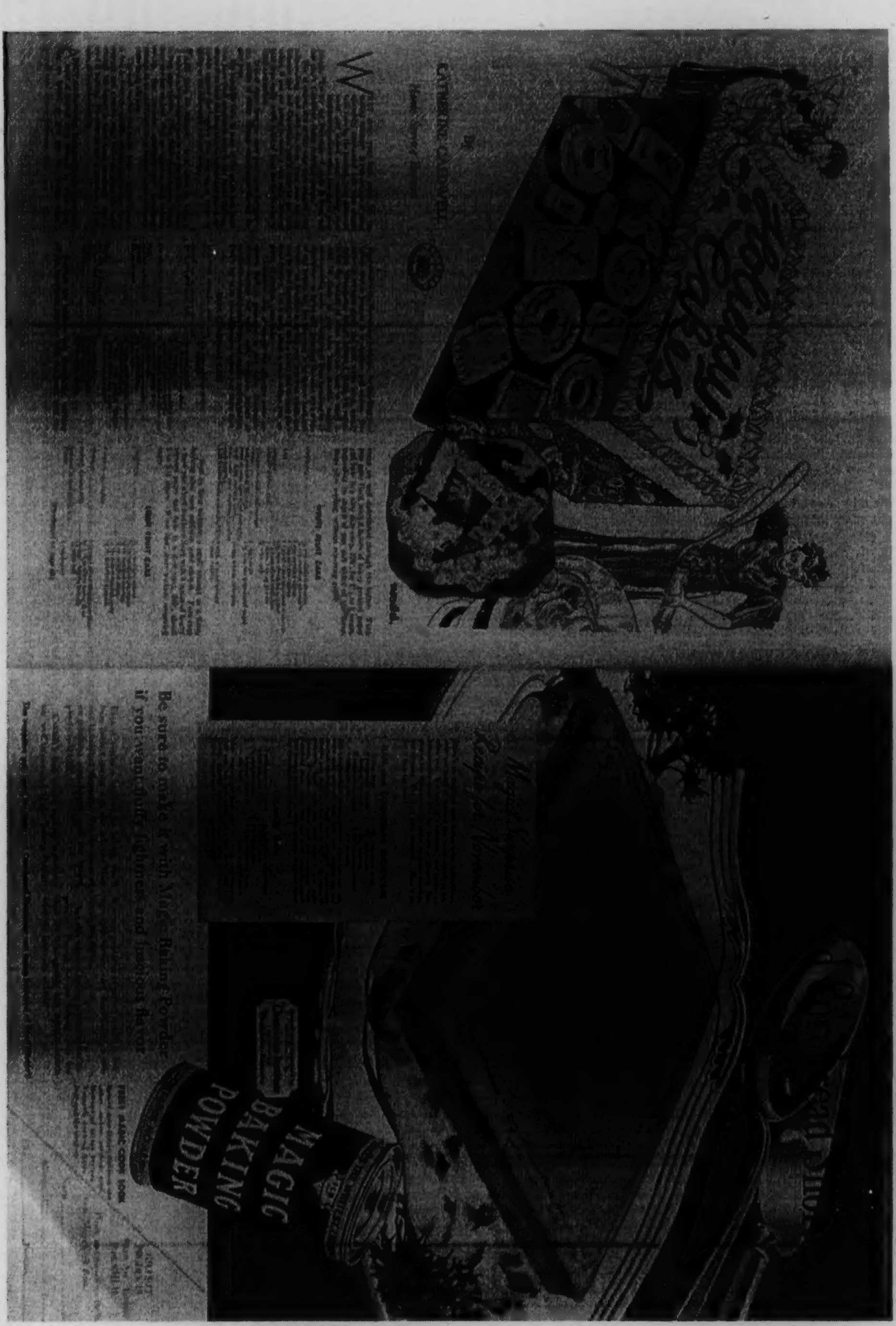
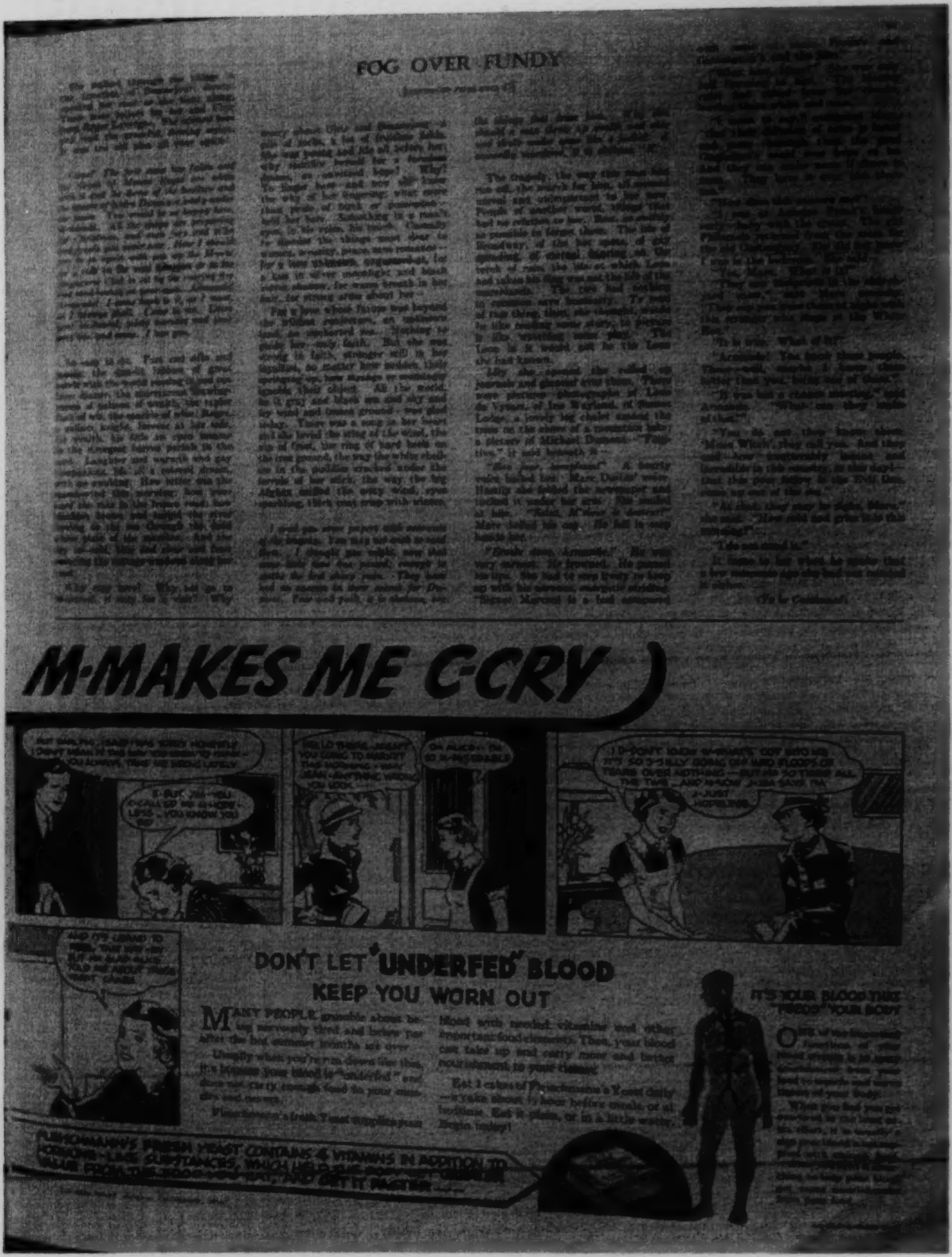

Holiday Cakes
MAGIC BAKING POWDER

Figure 10: "Holiday Cakes" and Magic Baking Powder Ad (*Canadian Home Journal* Nov. 1936: 80-81)



FOG OVER FUNDY

M-MAKES ME C-CRY

DON'T LET "UNDERFED" BLOOD KEEP YOU WORN OUT

Figure 11: "Fog Over Fundy" (*Canadian Home Journal* Nov. 1936: 51)

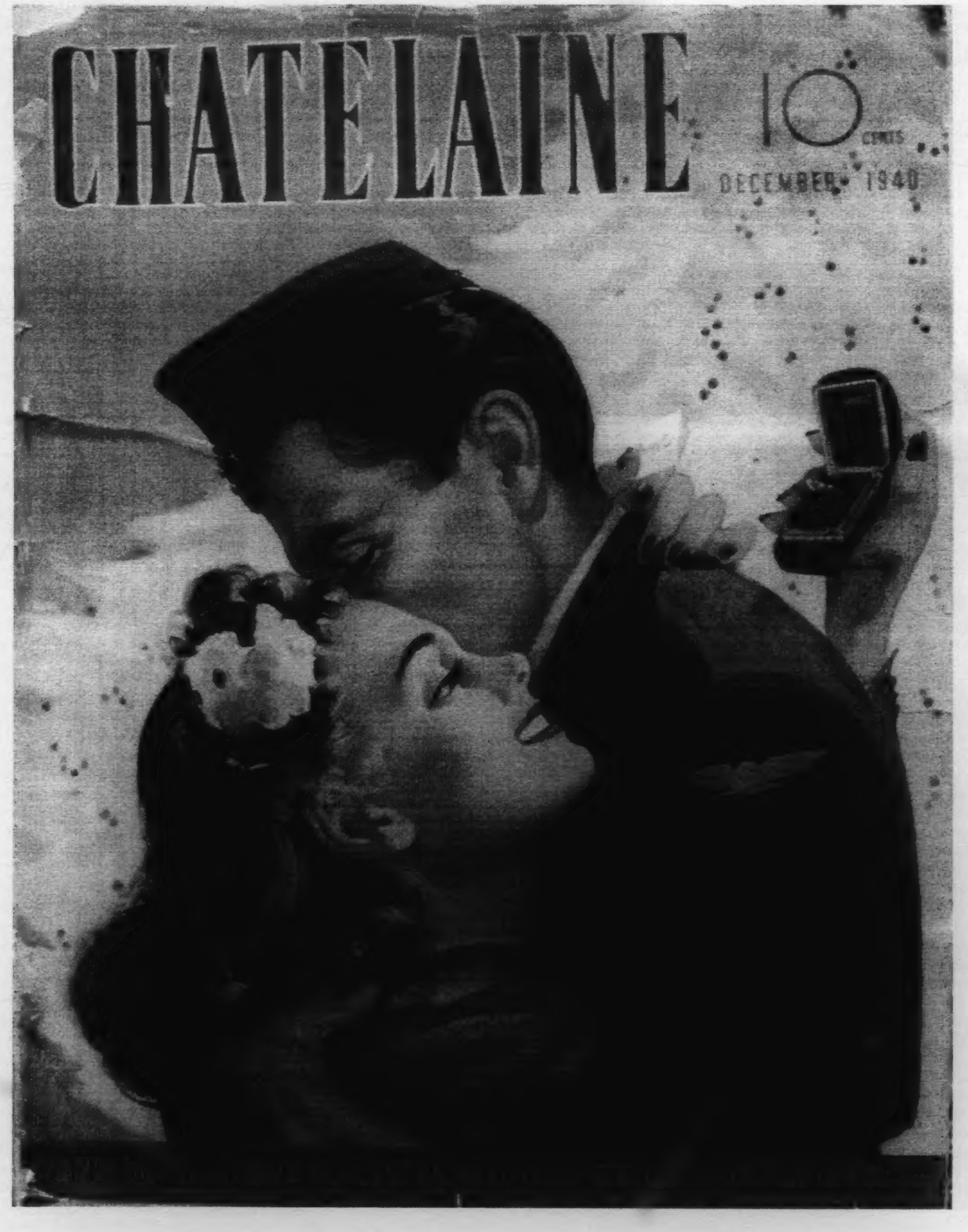

CHATELAINE
10 CENTS
DECEMBER 1940

Figure 12: *Chatelaine* (Dec. 1940: front cover)

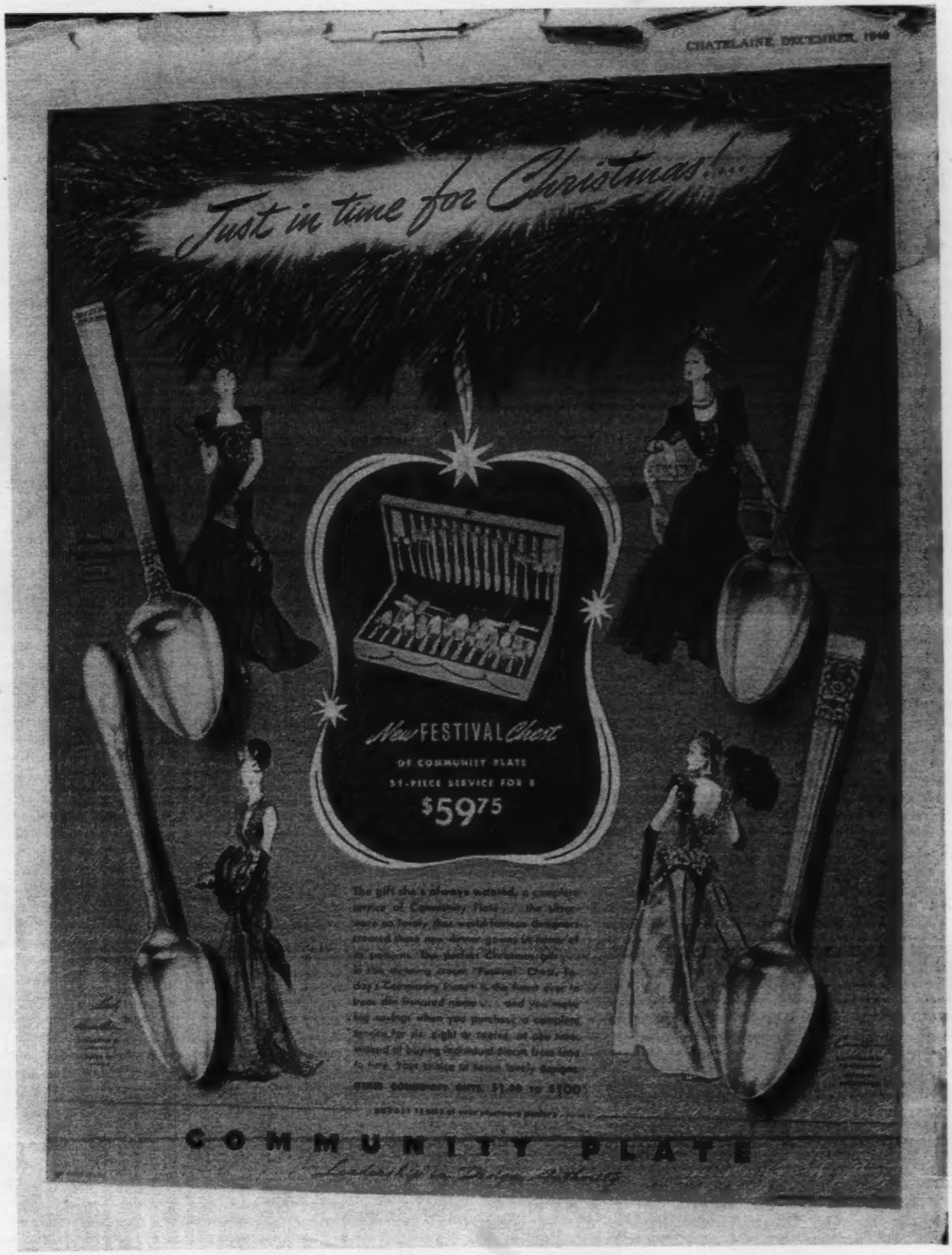

CHATELAINE, DECEMBER, 1940
Just in time for Christmas!...
New FESTIVAL Chest
OF COMMUNITY PLATE
51-PIECE SERVICE FOR 8
$\$59^{75}$
COMMUNITY PLATE

Figure 13: Community Silver Ad (*Chatelaine* Dec. 1940: back cover)

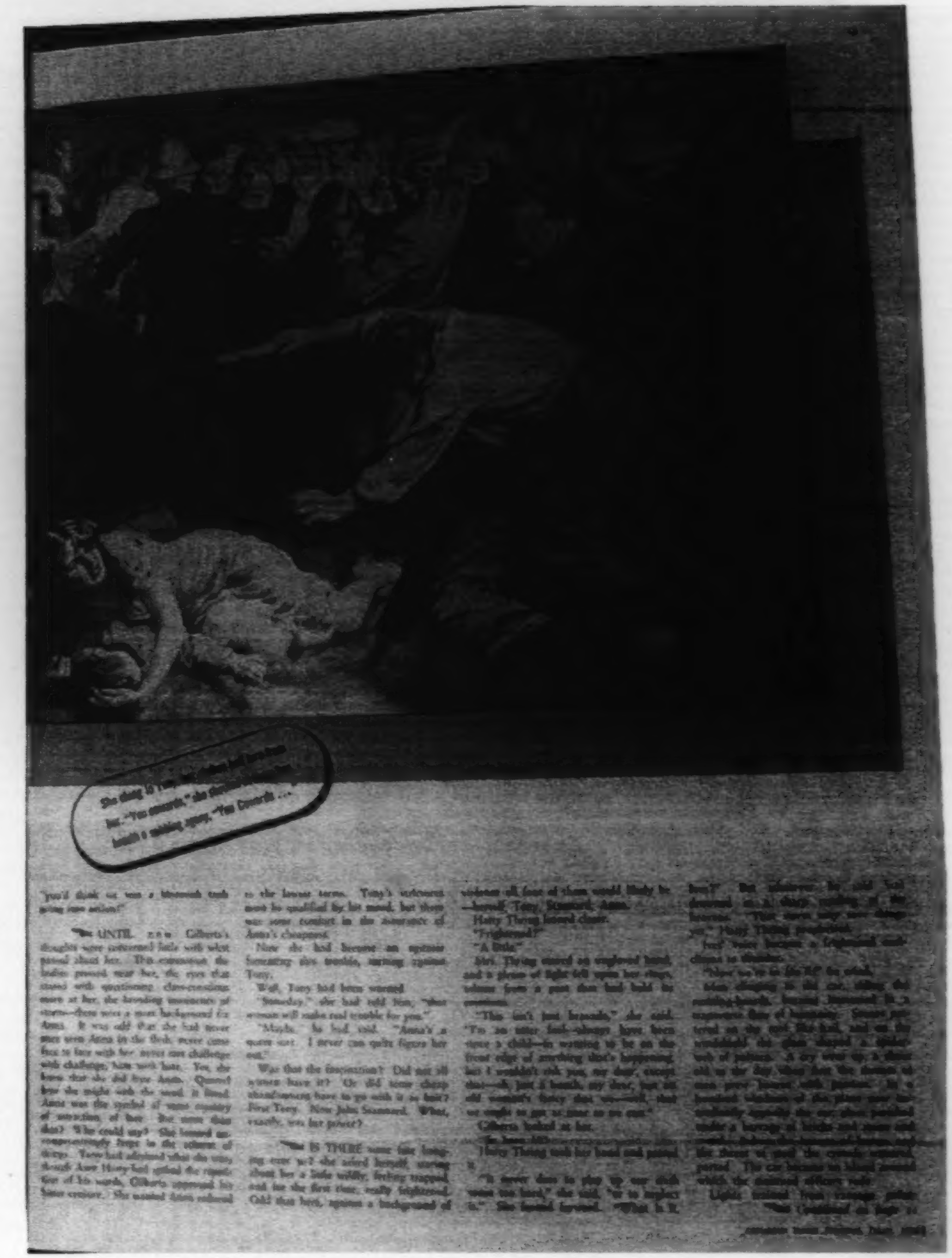
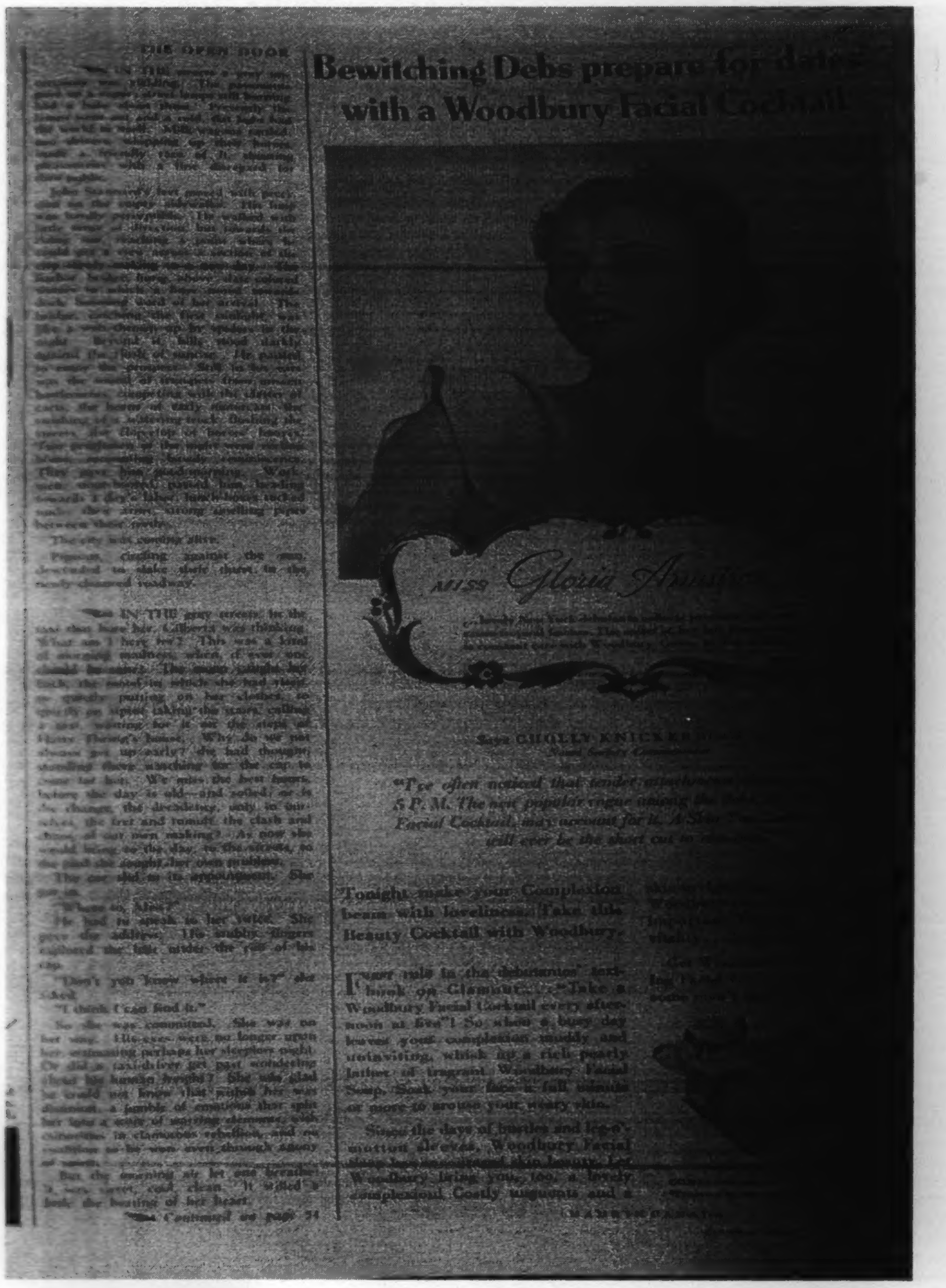


Figure 14: “The Winter Road” (*Canadian Home Journal* May 1939: 13)



THE OPEN DOOR

Bewitching Debs prepare for dates with a Woodbury Facial Cocktail

Tonight make your Complexion beam with loveliness! Take this Beauty Cocktail with Woodbury.

Figure 15: Woodbury Soap Ad (*Canadian Home Journal* June 1939: 27)

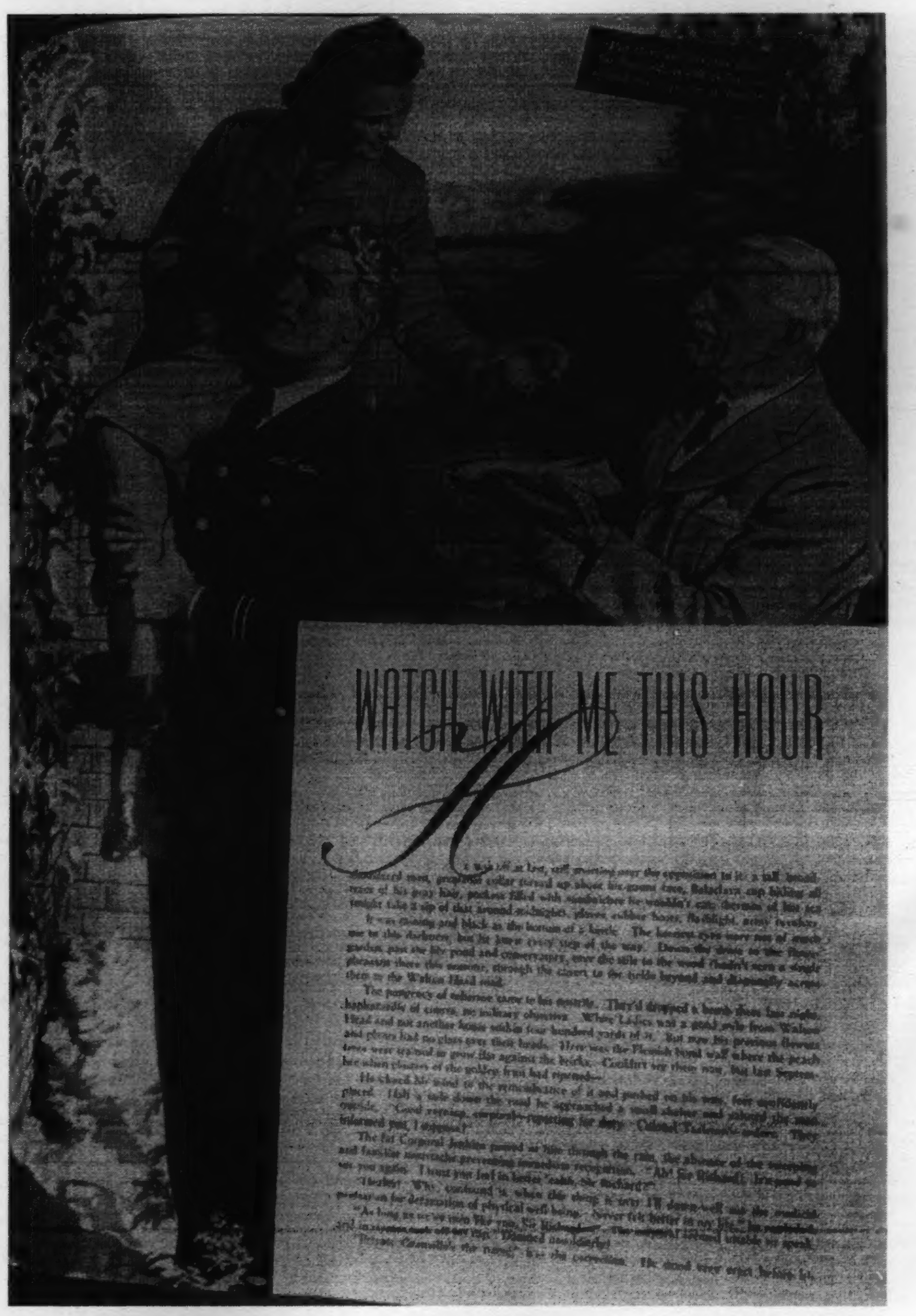
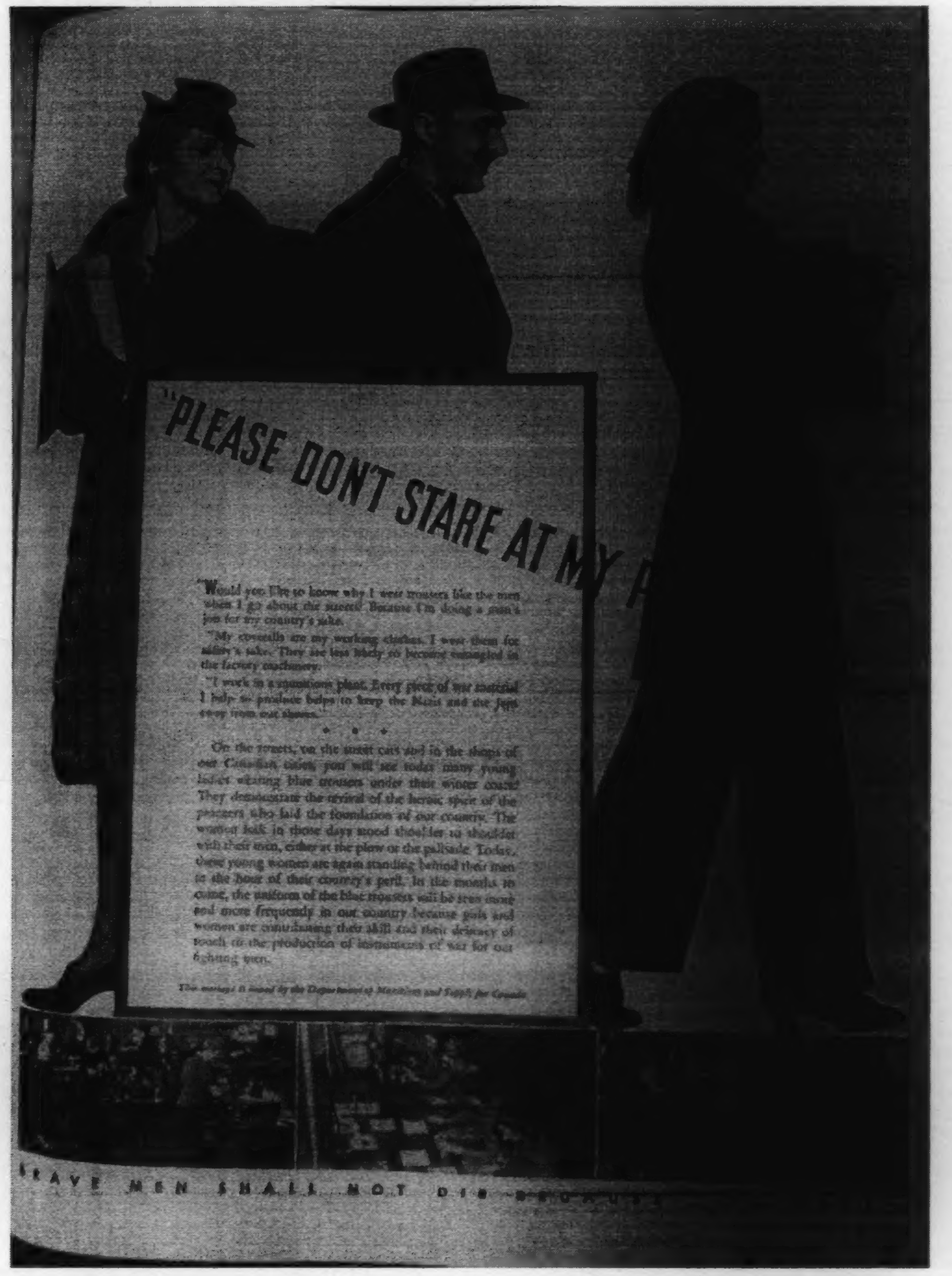

WATCH WITH ME THIS HOUR

Figure 16: "Watch With Me" (*Canadian Home Journal* Sept. 1941: 5)


"PLEASE DON'T STARE AT MY P
BRAVE MEN SHALL NOT DIE BECAUS

"Would you like to know why I wear trousers like the men when I go about the streets? Because I'm doing a man's job for my country's sake.

"My coveralls are my working clothes. I wear them for safety's sake. They are less likely to become entangled in the factory machinery.

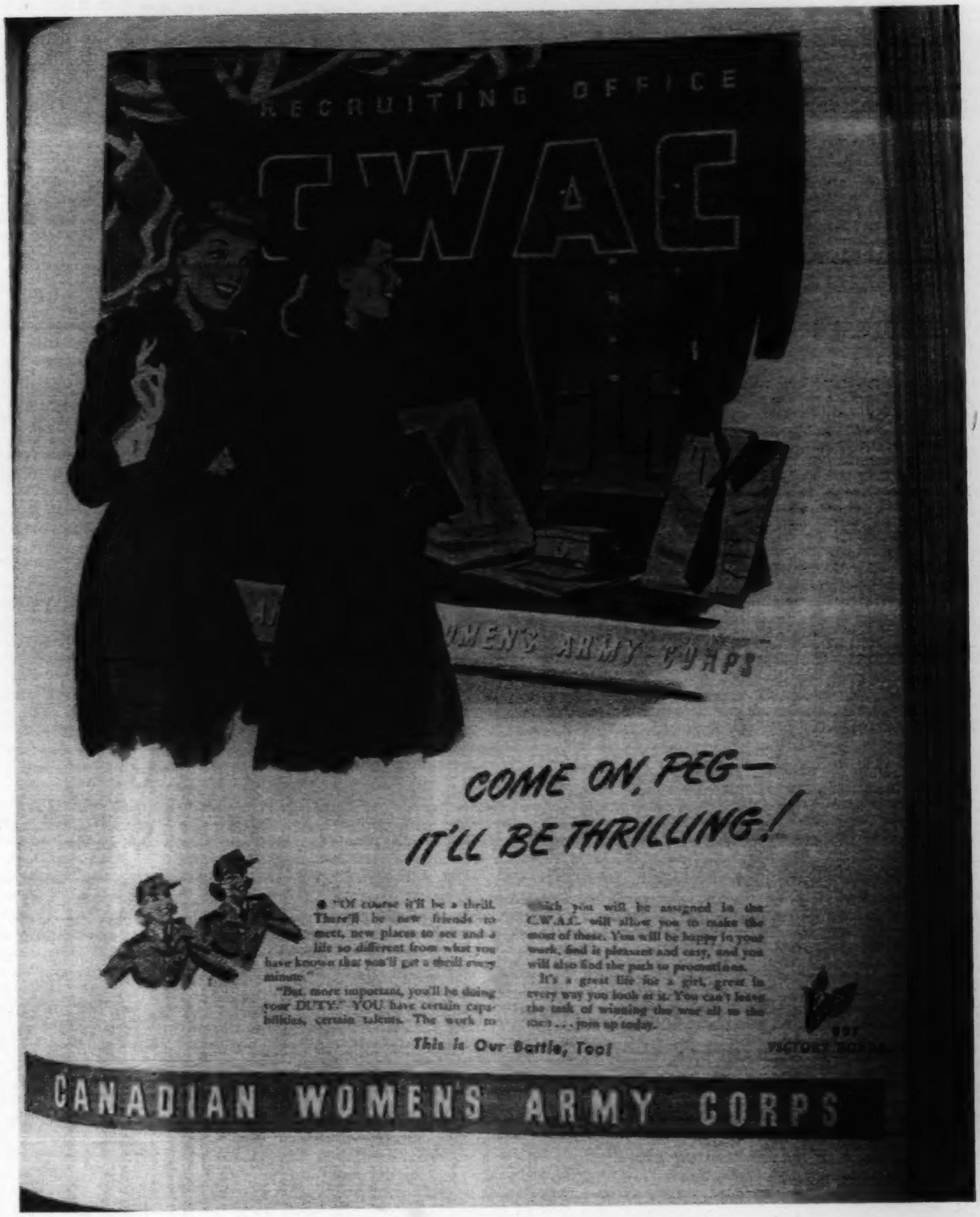
"I work in a munitions plant. Every piece of war material I help to produce helps to keep the Nazis and the Japs away from our shores."

• • •

On the streets, on the street cars and in the shops of our Canadian cities, you will see today many young ladies wearing blue trousers under their winter coats. They demonstrate the revival of the heroic spirit of the pioneers who laid the foundation of our country. The women folk in those days stood shoulder to shoulder with their men, either at the plow or the palisade. Today, these young women are again standing behind their men in the hour of their country's peril. In the months to come, the uniform of the blue trousers will be seen more and more frequently in our country because girls and women are contributing their skill and their delicacy of touch to the production of instruments of war for our fighting men.

This message is issued by the Department of Munitions and Supply for Canada

Figure 17: C.W.A.C Ad (*Canadian Home Journal* Mar. 1942: 3)


RECRUITING OFFICE
C.W.A.C.
WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS
COME ON, PEG—
IT'LL BE THRILLING!
BUY VICTORY BONDS

● "Of course it'll be a thrill. There'll be new friends to meet, new places to see and a life so different from what you have known that you'll get a thrill every minute."

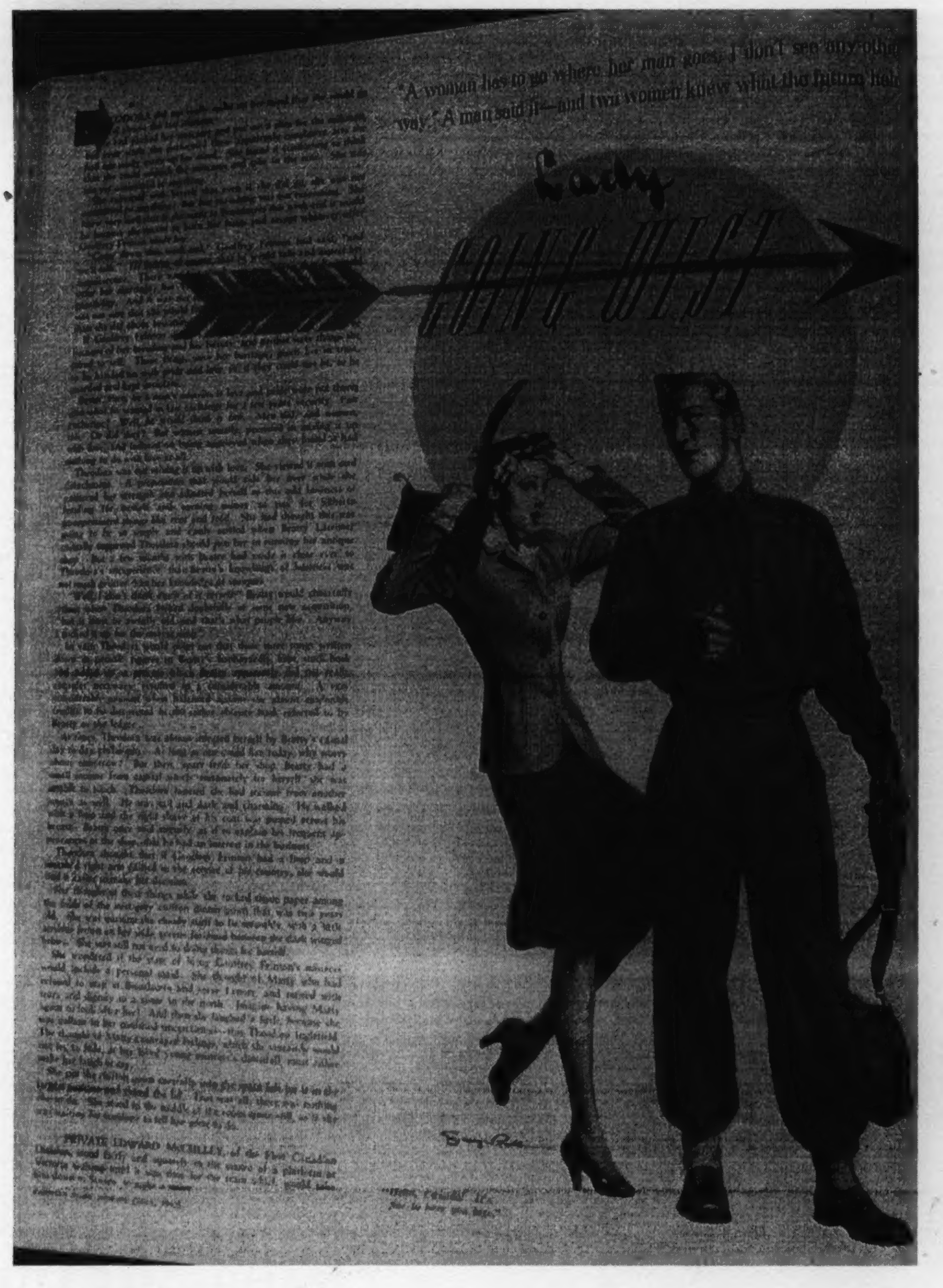
"But, more important, you'll be doing your DUTY." YOU have certain capabilities, certain talents. The work to which you will be assigned in the C.W.A.C. will allow you to make the most of these. You will be happy in your work, find it pleasant and easy, and you will also find the path to promotions.

It's a great life for a girl, great in every way you look at it. You can't leave the task of winning the war all to the men . . . join up today.

This is Our Battle, Too!

CANADIAN WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS

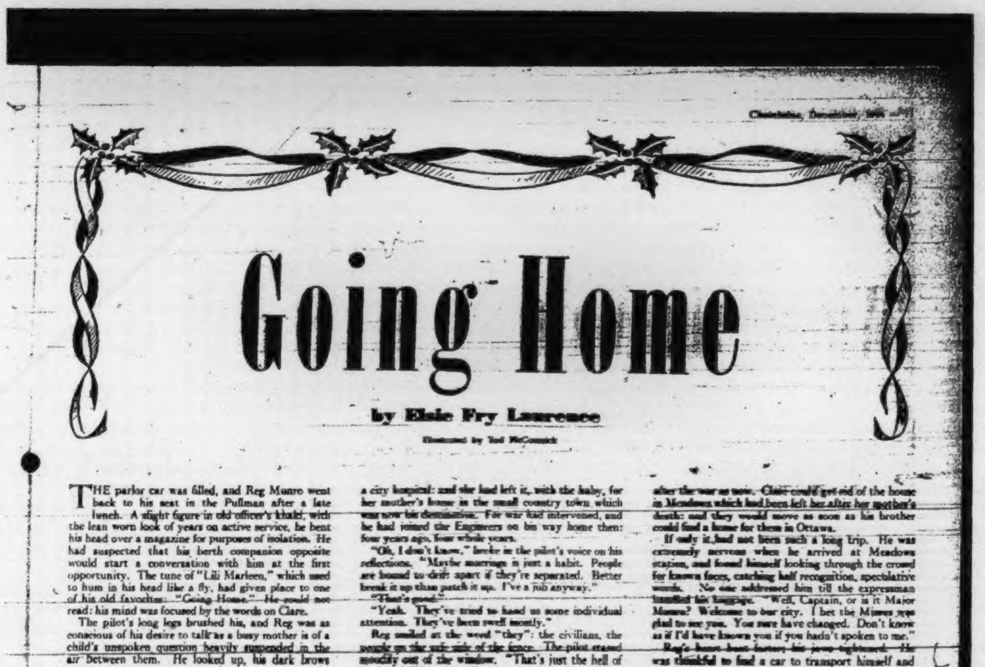
Figure 18: C.W.A.C Ad (*Canadian Home Journal* Nov. 1943: 49)



"A woman has to go where her man goes; I don't see any othe
way." A man said it—and two women knew what the future hol

Lady
GOING WEST

Figure 19: "Lady Going West" (*Canadian Home Journal* July 1942: 6)



Chatelaine, December, 1944

Going Home

by Elsie Fry Laurence

Illustrated by Ted McCormick

THE parlor car was filled, and Reg Munro went back to his seat in the Pullman after a late lunch. A slight figure in old officer's khaki, with the lean worn look of years on active service, he bent his head over a magazine for purposes of isolation. He had suspected that his berth companion opposite would start a conversation with him at the first opportunity. The tune of "Lili Marleen," which used to hum in his head like a fly, had given place to one of his old favorites: "Going Home." He could not read: his mind was focused by the words on Clare.

The pilot's long legs brushed his, and Reg was as conscious of his desire to talk as a busy mother is of a child's unspoken question heavily suspended in the air between them. He looked up, his dark brows meeting.

"Home [illegible]?" The airman's grin was bitter.

"Discharged." He glanced down at his uniform with affection: the civilian suit he had bought in Ottawa had looked and felt like someone else's clothes.

"All through, eh? So am I. Queer sensation, isn't it?"

Reg mumbled an affirmative. His sister-in-law had worn the obvious phrases thin during the last few days, and with them the residue of his patience. He hummed softly to himself: "I'll be going home." The pleasant rhythm, and the procession of permanent-looking pines past the windows steadied him: how he hoped he would be able to go on field work next summer. There was just that slight heart condition to clear, those spells of dizziness: and the specialist had told him they were partly due to his nerves.

"They'll be out with the band, eh?"

"Not for me they won't. Didn't tell my wife which day I would arrive. I don't like these depot meetings."

"Well, you're lucky to have a home to go back to."

"Haven't you?" His dark eyes flashed: he knew that was the cue the man wanted.

"I thought I had. Wife met me yesterday. Everything went wrong somehow. Maybe another fellow had cut in while I was away. Maybe I'll never know. Scared of my coming back. Said I wasn't a bit like the boy she had married. Bit of a blow after counting on it a couple of years." He swallowed, turned his face aside. "She was just a kid though."

"Tough luck." Reg fidgeted in his seat. He did not want to think of anyone else: it was an interruption of his progress toward Clare. His was a monogamous nature. The days of those years had been an endless nightmare field job: and through interminable nights he had seemed to be searching for her, hindered by the ridiculous obstacles of dreams.

He wondered if there had always been something remote about Clare, never entirely his. Habitually she had been sweet and gentle, if a trifle stubborn toward opposition: not as talkative as most women, a continual check to his own impulsiveness and minor irritations. But only on that construction work, when they had shared a cabin for five months on the edge of the bush, had they grown completely close to each other. Then Tad's imminent arrival had taken her to a city hospital: and she had left it, with the baby, for her mother's home in the small country town which was now his destination. For war had intervened, and he had joined the Engineers on his way home then: four years ago, four whole years.

"Oh, I don't know," broke in the pilot's voice on his reflections. "Maybe marriage is just a habit. People are bound to drift apart if they're separated. Better break it up than patch it up. I've a job anyway."

"That's good."

"Yeah. They've tried to hand us some individual attention. They've been swell mostly."

Reg smiled at the word "they": the civilians, the people on the safe side of the fence. The pilot stared moodily out of the window. "That's just the hell of it, though," he said. "People are so darned individual they don't fuse unless they're crazy about each other, or through just plain habit. Marriage doesn't work by remote control anyway."

Only a youngster, thought Reg, appraising his sharp profile: while he and Clare were into their thirties. He suppressed an impulse to pull out his wallet and reassure himself by the serene gaze of his wife's face from the snapshot within.

The words were like cold fingers on his heart, reminding him of the chill bare truths of doctors' offices, hospital wards, that inescapable limit of the flesh. Suppose Clare was not waiting for him with that intangible warm assurance that the old good life for which he had been fighting was still there.

Talking, he decided, would be better than thinking. "Were you in on the invasion?" he asked, with his rare attractive smile.

The pilot's face lighted up and was almost a boy's again. "That was where I got mine," he said briefly. He patted his right leg. "Man, it was a great show, though. I saw [illegible]."

The air cleared between them. Time passed easily in reminiscence. Yet Reg had not realized he would feel as passionately Canadian as he did, watching the forest one day, the prairie the next, roll monotonously beyond the panes. "Going home"—the tune found him again. After the lands he had left, this country itself was like going from the past to the future. He must control the sense of haste which had accompanied all the tiresome stages of his journey. It was like moving forward, point by point, to take some faroff stronghold. Home, that was now the final objective. He drew a long breath, and looking down at his hands, relaxed his clenched fingers.

The pilot left him at Winnipeg, with an impression of a bewildered smile. "Good to be fixed up with work anyway," he said [illegible], as they parted.

EVERYTHING WAS arranged for Reg, too. His affairs had been put through in half the time he had expected when he sent Clare the night letter from Ottawa saying he might be delayed a week. The doctors had said there was no reason why he should not recover in this climate under a quiet routine. There was a position promised at his final discharge next month, where his engineering would be as useful after the war as now. Clare could get rid of the house in Meadows which had been left her after her mother's death: and they would move as soon as his brother could find a home for them in Ottawa.

If only it had not been such a long trip. He was extremely nervous when he arrived at Meadows station, and found himself looking through the crowd for known faces, catching half recognition, speculative words. No one addressed him till the expressman handled his luggage. "Well, Captain, or is it Major Munro? Welcome to our city. I bet the Missus was glad to see you. You sure have changed. Don't know as if I'd have known you if you hadn't spoken to me."

Reg's [illegible] his jaw tightened. He was thankful to find a car to transport himself and his possessions. The garage man was frankly inquisitive. "Mrs. Munro will be giving you a calling down for not letting her know," he said, with the candor of neighborly acquaintance.

"Got through quicker than I'd expected. Hate a fuss anyway."

"Well, you know how women are. Like to plan. Have everything just so."

"I guess so." They made some local conversation, though he was barely conscious of it. He did not know the place so very well, only on visits, and when he had worked in that district at the time he first met Clare. Meadows was quite a small town. Everyone knew her.

The house was a little shabbier than he remembered: but so many of them seemed to need painting. Her aunt would be there, of course. She had been looking after Tad when Clare went back to teaching school. That [illegible]: he had been so full of his own plans he had not given a thought to the aunt or Clare's work.

They dropped his kit on the front porch: the house door remained closed. "Thanks, Joe," he said, as they looked at it, almost resenting the man's friendly interest in the turmoil of his feelings. Joe waved off the fare. "Glad to have you back," he said, moving away reluctantly.

Reg raised his hand to knock, laughed at himself, turned the handle. "Anybody home?" he called, and his voice sounded doubtful: his eyes darted about the unremembered interior, seeking familiar things. He felt [illegible] like a visitor who is afraid he has come on the wrong day or to the wrong house. He was checked and disappointed out of all proportion to the moment's silence.

An elderly lady hurried out of the kitchen, and stopped short before this tired-looking officer in his worn khaki, his gaunt face pale with old weakness and new excitement. "Why, you must be Reg!" She turned, and called out of the back door: "Clare! Clare! Come at once."

HE FOLLOWED her through the kitchen. Across the backyard the garage door opened, and there spilled out through it a string of schoolgirls, staring at him between hanging curls, over sweatered shoulders, a few [illegible] over their boots, elbowing each other. Then a tall young woman with wide-set blue eyes and smooth [illegible] blond hair.

◆ Continued on page 18

Figure 20 "Going Home" (*Chatelaine* Dec. 1944: 11)

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Appendix

"Family Style" by Clara G. Turner

Patsy Cochran was holding out for a wedding, nothing formal, just a quiet home wedding.

Jimmie, now that he had the approval of the Cochran tribe, was for getting the license, a stray minister, and having it over with as painlessly as possible.

Mrs. Cochran remonstrated. "With Marty and Ann in school and Jane's course in costume designing unfinished, I just don't see how I can take on a wedding. Not now."

Marty and Ann begged the couple to elope. They figured that it was worth a chunk of their combined allowances to "keep their home safe for struggling co-eds."

Jane, the oldest Cochran, voiced no objections, merely remarking: "Ho-hum! Another spasm of dressmaking for this girlie. But from now on there'll be one less Cochran to stick pins into. Thank goodness!"

On the whole Patsy was discouraged by the co-operation she received. But she did not weaken. One hour with Jimmie on the porch under a climbing moon put him where she wanted him. And from experience she knew that her mother "could be had." Jane's remark had clinched the trousseau problem. So Patsy proceeded to make her plans.

Marty and Ann, their first proposition being ignored, applied as "brush-beaters" for the wedding procession. And still being ignored, they notified the society editor of the Times of the approaching nuptials, giving the information that "the two attractive sisters of the bride will act as bridesmaids."

Patsy read the announcement quite unperturbed, saying: "A lot the newspaper knows. Jane's going to be my bridesmaid."

"Oh, yeah!" was all Jane said for several moments.

"Please, Jane," pleaded Patsy, "if you ask me, it's an honor."

"Honor!" scoffed Jane. "What an honor to drag you and your flat feet to the altar!"

Patsy only laughed.

"Well!" Jane finally consented. "I'll do it this time, but after this when you get married pick on someone your own size."

Little by little Mrs. Cochran weakened, Patsy offering concessions—such as giving up engraved invitations.

"I'll invite them over the telephone," Patsy told her. "There will only be the families and intimate friends. And I really don't need much of a trousseau. There's no need for a fussy affair."

But she held out for the tall candles and potted palms, a "Here Comes the Bride" on a violin, and someone standing around in gardenias.

The date was set a month away. An eight o'clock wedding.

For two weeks the Cochran family went on its customary, hectic way. Patsy, slim and radiant, taking the eight o'clock every morning for Bullock's Book Shop.

Mrs. Cochran, a determined blue felt holding down her hurried grey hair, starting off in the car for the "Cochran Company Real Estate and Insurance."

Marty and Ann left for school. And Jane was left to do or stack the dishes. Perhaps a smuggled cigarette over her sketches. Mrs. Cochran prided herself that none of her daughters smoked.

Two weeks before the wedding Patsy gave up her job and came home with her notebook filled with names and addresses of wedding guests, prices of electric refrigerators and silk nighties, and wedding menus. She found a disheveled Jane struggling with a jumble of assorted yardage which writhed on Patsy's bed, and a litter of sketches disfiguring the dressing-table.

For once in her life Patsy could not complain of Jane's disorderliness. A trousseau designed and executed by Jane was something. She would sleep under her bed before she would complain, although it was well known among the Cochrans that Patsy's room was not a dumping ground.

During the nights that followed, Patsy's sleep might have been more peaceful had she been under the bed. With a sprinkling of pins and patterns that rustled every time she turned over, with the whirring of Jane's sewing machine in her ears and light in her eyes far into the night. Patsy began to feel jaded.

Furthermore, Mrs. Cochran had got into the feeling of the thing. The wedding spirit took possession of her with such vengeance that she threw herself into a thorough ransacking of the house, laboring under the delusion that she was housecleaning.

Before and after office hours they met her on the stairs staggering under armfuls of bedding and pillows. Apparently she was moving all the upstairs downstairs and all the downstairs up. She worried with bags of rags and old clothing that she had been saving for years. She rehung pictures and cleaned the basement, even whacking up an old nightgown of Patsy's for a curtain to the basement window. She sorted out dresser drawers; put mothballs in the woolens. She had the roof mended and the chimneys swept. She painted the kitchen steps herself and swept the garage. She bought a new garbage pail and sent the living-room rug to be cleaned, not noticing that the date for its return was the day after the wedding. She put all the downstairs curtains to soak in gasoline and straightaway forgot all about them until Patsy just happened to wonder. And there they were, a soggy smelly mess. But Mrs. Cochran smilingly managed them all somehow.

She could hardly stand still long enough for Jane to fit the cream lace dress that had been chosen for her. In fact she twitched at the very thought that she had to have anything new. Her grey crepe was plenty good enough, she snorted.

It was while she was being fitted one evening, with Patsy watching drowsily from the side of her bed, that Mrs. Cochran took time out to inform Patsy that she had been asking some guests on her own account.

"That's swell, mother," Patsy assured her. She had a quick vision of the "old faithfuls" of the "Class of Naughty-nought" who had attended every reunion from then until now with her mother. And then there were the colleagues from the "Independent Women Voter's League."

"A grand crowd," her mother called them loyally.

Feeling somewhat alarmed Patsy enquired: "How many have you asked?"

"I think I counted up to sixty-five," her mother announced, peering at herself in the mirror.

"What!" Patsy became wide awake. "How many did you say?"

"I really was surprised myself when I counted them. I don't think there are very many more."

Many more? For a moment Patsy wondered if she were having a bad dream. There were all of Jimmie's friends. And hers. And the cousins. And the neighbors.

When the grand total was in, Patsy knew it was no dream. There were one hundred and eleven. Just a quiet home wedding!

"But, mother," she asked, "where will we put them all? What'll we feel them?"

Mrs. Cochran dismissed the first question with a wave of her hand. What were a hundred or more guests to her? As for the eats, she had ordered the ice cream that very day from a man who had come into her office taking orders. He had seen the announcement in the paper, he told her.

"But, mother, you don't know a thing about his old ice cream . And I don't want ice cream anyway."

"Now, Patsy, you're getting all tired out and irritable, I know an honest man when I see him, and he had colored pictures of just the very thing. A white roll with a pink heart in the middle."

Patsy groaned. She just could not help it. She had planned such a nice little supper.

Patsy's silence hurried an explanation from Mrs. Cochran: "There will be coffee, of course."

"Mrs. Jobson next door?"

"Why, of course."

"Not really. Not Mrs. Jobson, that nosey old thing," Patsy whimpered.

"Now, girls, Mrs. Jobson is not nosey, as you put it. She's interested. She stopped me the other morning as I was backing out the driveway, to offer anything she could do. I thought it very considerate of her, so I asked her then and there about making the coffee."

"Of course you had to plead with her," Jane said with her mouth full of pins.

Patsy laid back on her new tomato tea-dress in a semi-collapse. She felt collapsed altogether, now that all her plans had been taken off her hands. She would have cherished being consulted about her own trousseau. But, of course, Jane was the one for that. And all the things her mother had been changing around the house she had closed her eyes to them. But this last. This was something else.

"Thank goodness!" she thought. "Marty and Ann are not interested enough to be anything but bridesmaids."

Even in this she found that she was mistaken the next day when Marty announced: "We sure picked up a swell bargain for you today, Pat. Didn't we, Ann?"

"What kind of a bargain?" Patsy questioned, only half listening.

"We realized how good it was, so we made the arrangements about the decorations right then. They'll be swell."

"Decorations. What decorations?" Patsy acted dazed.

Marty looked at her with scorn. "What decorations! For Pete's sake! The wedding decorations, of course. And listen to this, Useless. There's a Greek kid in my English class. His father's a downtown florist. I happened to say something about the wedding and this guy came forth with some keen ideas about decorating. We got talking, and then he made this swell offer of bringing some things from his dad's shop and doing the decorating for nothing. I mean, practically nothing. Of course, he'll charge for the rent of the potted plants and things. And we'll give him a kind of a tip for his work. Isn't that swell?"

Before Patsy could think of words expressive enough to convey her feelings, her mother spoke up commending Marty's cleverness.

So the decorations were settled!

As the days clipped by, Jane grew tempermental. She worked all day in rumpled pyjamas. She abandoned any thought of make-up. Her hair strung in wisps behind her ears. Her mouth was always full of pins, half of which she stuck in Patsy's back and then she complained when Patsy jumped. And as the time drew nearer she stuck the pins in deeper.

Mrs. Cochran's frenzied housecleaning became violent. She gave up listening to "Amos 'n' Andy." She left word at the office to call her when necessary and stayed at home mornings.

And Jimmie. Big strong Jimmie was just a gentle breeze that wafted in and out of the house some time after dark. He asked a few questions that were seldom answered, docilely looked over the wedding presents, and sometimes he wheeled a kiss or two from Patsy if Mrs. Cochran or Jane was not using her for the moment. Finally, his presence being unimportant, he disappeared.

The only time he came in handy was when there was a shower or a dinner in "their" honor. He got more attention from Patsy over the telephone between functions.

As the days moved on, the main arteries of the Cochran house became choked with shredded paper, tissue, and boxes. Sometimes someone would heave a load of them into the hall closet and clear the way for a fresh supply.

All the tables in the house, even the dining table, were moved to the upstairs front bedroom, from which Mrs. Cochran in one of her conscious moments had removed the bed. There the gifts were displayed. They became a matter of heated betting among Marty and Ann and their friends who stopped in each day after school. Some days electric equipment took the lead. Other days colored pottery went to the top. And again glassware won the most. One day silver pitchers were specialized.

Mrs. Cochran, entirely forgetting Marty's Greek, accepted cousin Alice's kind offer to provide the flowers. Alice, being deaf and past her prime, was a little out of things. Still, in her day, she had been good at arranging flowers, so Mrs. Cochran thought it only fair for her to have some part in so important a family affair.

The delicate situation of overlapping decorators was fortunately eliminated when cousin Alice, mistaking in a moonless night the fish pond for a flower bed, waded in up to her waist. Thus she was disqualified.

Mrs. Cochran hurried her, dripping, into the car, and rushed her home, thanking fortune that poor Alice's deafness prevented the mirthful shrieks of the Cochran sisters from disgracing them.

Then suddenly, before anyone in the Cochran family was entirely aware of it, the wedding day arrived.

Jane must have had an inkling that it was coming, for she induced Patsy to go to bed on the sleeping porch while she stuck to her post all night, only collapsing for a few winks upon a pile of trousseau on Patsy's bed. But by daylight, when Mrs. Cochran hustled out of bed and into her inside-out kimono, she said that Jane was still stitching away, poor child.

Patsy, overhearing her, was overcome with remorse. But it was her wedding day. She tried not to feel gloomy, but it was difficult. Her mirror gave her a sorry picture. Her naturally curly hair was the only part of her that looked natural. She looked like a criminal, she told herself. Perhaps she would be one before the day was over. For, judging from her present emotions, she wondered if she could keep from killing Jane or beating her mother, or setting fire to the whole establishment.

She got back into bed. Never did a maid on her bridal morn indulge in less bridelike reveries.

Some of the curse was alleviated when her mother brought up her breakfast. "You keep quiet, Patsy dear, until Jane needs you," she said and hurried off.

The tray bore a cup of coffee without a saucer, an over-toasted roll, and some honey that was for the most part on the handle of the spoon that accompanied it. But it was breakfast in bed. That was something.

By ten the final stitches were put in Patsy's things and she was free to pack, to unwrap arriving gifts, to have a manicure and her curls set; to follow her mother with a duster and carpet sweeper; to tell Jimmie over the telephone that she loved him and was feeling grand. It took her thirty minutes to say it.

Jane was finishing Marty's dress.

At eleven o'clock someone—no-one was ever able to remember just who—missed the living room rug. For a few desperate minutes the wedding was sidetracked. But Patsy, still determined to have a quiet home wedding, remembered a memorandum she had seen in the catch all silver bowl on the sideboard. Sure enough, the rug was promised for the next day. No amount of telephoning could produce it sooner.

Happily, Mrs. Cochran remembered the office rug, which, although it was not the right size, shape or color, fitted into the general plan. So away she rushed in the car with a protesting Ann to help, while Patsy upon this holiest of days found herself wishing that her mother would be mercifully detained.

At twelve o'clock Marty's Greek, simply popping with importance, arrived. He spread himself, his potted plants, his white-washed candlesticks and his doubtful white lilies over the entire lower floor. From that time Jane shrieked in vain for Marty to help or to be fitted.

At one o'clock Mrs. Jobson arrived with her coffee-making equipment, cups, saucers, silver. Patsy had had no idea what a fine bargain her mother had made. If she were a loss as a housekeeper she surely was a good business woman.

It was while Patsy was trying to make room for Mrs. Jobson's things that something plunked to the floor from beneath an avalanche of junk on the kitchen table. It was a damp bundle of napkins, the entire supply of Cochran napkins. No telling when her mother had washed them. It did not matter now, for here they were un-ironed—dozens of them.

Mrs. Jobson with a scornful kindness offered to go for her iron. And by brow-beating Marty away from her Greek, Patsy and Marty somehow got them ironed.

By six o'clock the five Cochrans, all in scanties, were rushing up and down stairs, sometimes speaking to one another, sometimes shouting; sometimes they knew what they were going for; more often they didn't. Long ago they had grown deaf to the telephone.

The flowers arrived. A muff of violets for Jane, a corsage of gardenias for Mrs. Cochran, and Patsy's roses and lilies of the valley. This part of the wedding was perfect. Trust Jimmie for that.

"Jimmie's a nice thoughtful boy," Patsy said with tears beginning.

A knock at the kitchen door sent Mrs. Cochran into the pantry.

Patsy, who had hurriedly donned a kitchen apron over her shorts and brasserie admitted the ice cream.

"Ten dollars C.O.D.," the man said.

The next fifteen minutes was a wild rushing about to find the chequebook and a pen.

Just before the man threatened to carry off the wedding feast, Mrs. Cochran shouted from her retreat in the pantry that she believed she had left her chequebook in her purse in the car in the garage. "And the pen," she piped after the searchers, "I think it rolled under my bed this afternoon."

The rest was simple.

Jane with curses and insults was herding Marty and Ann into their wedding togs so they could answer the door. She pried them off their lipsticks and jammed their dresses over their shining heads.

Jane herself looked like something that had been thrown out of some place. Every freckle had turned four shades darker. Her hair had formed ropes to dangle over her bloodshot eyes. She was everything that a bridesmaid should not be.

Patsy, armed with her white satin bridal lingerie, shut herself in the shower with but half an hour to go. She shut the door and locked it and let the battle outside rage. She turned on the water to stop the sound of the family voices. She let the telephone be darned. She supposed that Jimmie had run the doorbell battery down and was now shivering on the porch. "A perfect state for anyone who let himself in for this mess," she thought.

She stopped thinking and wrinkled up her nose and sniffed. Paint! She smelled paint. She looked all round the bathroom. She gingerly touched the woodwork. She sniffed at the window. No, it was not coming in from outside. It was right here in the room.

It was not until she had stepped in the shower that she found out about the paint. She found a streak of it across her bare hip where she had touched the wall.

Mother had painted the shower!

Almost in tears she scrubbed herself with soap, with a cleanser, with cleaning solvent, with eau de Cologne. But the paint stuck. Jane pounded on the door to tell her that Jimmie had arrived.

Five minutes later she pounded on the door to tell her to hurry. The minister wanted to tell her what to say to his questions.

Patsy was too weak to answer. Somehow she got feebly into her white satin shorts. She was a smarting combination of eau de Cologne and cleaning solvent. The white satin shorts stuck to the paint like a long-lost friend. But not until she was fastened into her sheathlike wedding dress did she realize just how fast paint could stick.

She was too exhausted to fly into a rage when she came upon her mother standing uncertainly at the head of the stairs staring down.

One look was enough for Patsy to forget the paint. Her mother was almost unrecognizable behind a mask of pure white powder. Her eyebrows were overhanging eaves of drifted snow, under which she peered down the stairs as though doom awaited her. There she was starting down to receive the hundred-and-eleven in cream lace and gardenias, with the face of a clown.

"It must have been French chalk which Ann uses for her shoes," Mrs. Cochran decided aloud while Patsy was mopping her off with a towel to repair the damages.

Patsy gave her a hurried swipe of proper make-up and pushed her down the stairs. Just how her mother escaped falling down was always a wonder to Patsy.

Then above the increasing chatter Patsy heard the lilting notes of the violin begin. In a few minutes it would be time to walk solemnly down and marry Jimmie. It was a beautiful, thrilling thought.

Jane came and stood beside her, looking her over critically.

Then, as through a fog, they started down the stairs. Jane, now very tall in a becoming blue something, was walking ahead.

"Here Comes the Bride," the violin was saying over and over.

Jane was walking down ahead of her. Somehow she reached the bottom of the stairs, down to the hundred and eleven. Gardenias, and roses, and lilies of the valley and paint, and eau de Cologne, and cleaning solvent; and miles away at the end of a long aisle of faces was a very handsome young man and a very serious minister. At each side, like two kittens who had licked the cream pitchers, were Marty and Ann.

But, most of all she could see her mother, there at the end of the aisle where the guests had pushed back to leave her standing alone in cream lace and gardenias, and furlined bedroom slippers.